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THE  
**NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE,**  
AND  
JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY.

EDITED BY  
JOHN YONGE AKERMAN, F.S.A.

ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY,  
CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF EDINBURGH,  
AND OF NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE, AND FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES  
OF COPENHAGEN.

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Factum abiit—monumenta manent.—Ov. Fast.

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AND OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY;  
A ZEALOUS PROMOTER OF THE STUDY OF ANTIQUITIES,  
AND  
AN ADMIRER OF NUMISMATIC ART,  
THIS,  
OUR NINTH VOLUME,  
IS  
RESPECTFULLY AND GRATEFULLY  
DEDICATED.





## CONTENTS.

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### ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	PAGE
On the Coins called Cistophori; by M. Du Mersan . . . . .	1-66
Numismatic Illustrations of the Acts of the Apostles; by the Editor . . . . .	17
Observations on a Jewelled Coin of the Emperor Maurice, found at Bacton, near Cromer, in Norfolk; by Seth W. Stevenson, F.S.A. . . . .	131
Unedited Greek Coins:—Alabanda—Alinda—Amyza— Antiochia—Apollonia—Bargasa—Calynda—Caunus —Eriza—Euralium—Euromus—Evippe—Halicar- nassus—Harpasa—Hyllarima—Iasus—Idyma— Myndus—Paleopolis—Prenassus <i>or</i> Prinassus— Pyrrhus—Tabæ—Trapezopolis—Tripolis—Pixodarus (Rex Cariæ)—Astypalæa—Calymna—Astyra— Camirus—Ialysus—Lyndus; by H. P. Borrell . . . . .	143
Inscription illustrating the Legends of the Coins of Vaballathus; by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson . . . . .	128

### MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

Examples of London Coffee House and Tavern Tokens; by the Editor . . . . .	49
On the Anglo-Saxon Coins discovered at York, in the year 1842; by Jas. Dodsley Cuff, F.S.A. . . . .	121
Medal of the Pretender; by B. Nightingale . . . . .	44

## ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

	PAGE
On the Coins of the Patan, Afghan or Ghori Sultans of Hindustan (Delhi); by Edward Thomas, Bengal Civil Service . . . . .	79-172
List of the Patan, Afghan, or Ghori Sultans of Hindustan (Delhi); by Edward Thomas . . . . .	89

## NOTICES OF NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles, by D. H. Haigh . . . . .	45
---	----

## DISCOVERIES OF COINS.

<i>Roman</i> —near the Mendip Hills, p. 48—in London, p. 85 —at Lyons, p. 85—Caudebec-les-Elbœuf, p. 130.
<i>Anglo-Saxon</i> —Stycas at York, p. 85.
<i>Cufic</i> —in Sussex, p. 85.

## MISCELLANEA.

Society of Agriculture, Commerce, Science, and Arts, of Calais, offer a Prize Gold Medal for the best description of the Coins of Calais . . . . .	48
Letters of Hans Sloane and Doctor Hunter . . . . .	86
CORRESPONDENCE . . . . .	87



### ERRATUM.

Page 113, line 7, *for* "and coming upon the whole force," *read* "and one of his commanders coming upon the whole force."







55.



61.



101



106.



110.



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100.



103.



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115.



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CISTOPHORI, WITH THEIR SYMBOLS AND MONOGRAMS.



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## NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

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### I.

#### ON THE COINS CALLED "CISTOPHORI."

[The following memoir from the pen of M. Dumersan, of the Bibliothèque du Roi, is extracted from the "Cabinet de l'Amateur et de l'Antiquaire," a monthly review but little known in this country. As few cabinets are without specimens of these curious coins, we have thought a translation of the memoir would prove acceptable to the readers of the N. C.]

WHEN Father Panel first published in 1734 a tract on Cistophori,<sup>1</sup> he thought that these coins had been struck to commemorate the celebration of the games called Sabasia which the towns of Lydia and Phrygia were in the habit of holding in honor of Bacchus.<sup>2</sup>

Eckhel refuted this unfounded supposition, and proved that the Cistophori, the number of which was very considerable, and which were in use throughout all Asia, were struck for the common welfare of the cities of that country, whose fruitful territory and extended commerce rendered necessary the use of a coinage of known type and uniform

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<sup>1</sup> These coins are thus denominated from the *cistæ* or mystical baskets used in the mysteries, and which are always found figured on the right side of the cistophori. Vide Suidas on the word *Κίστη*; Clem. of Alex. *Protrept*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Bacchus had also the surname of Sabasius. The games called Sabasia were peculiar to Asia (Vid. Cicero de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.).



weight, which should inspire confidence and facilitate mercantile transactions.<sup>3</sup>

We adopt Eckhel's opinion, thinking with him that a coinage relating to the worship of Bacchus would naturally be adopted by a country in which that divinity was peculiarly honoured.

Till the present time, the cistophori have been classed in all cabinets under the different cities to which they belong, and have been thus separated from each other.

We have recently classed them, in the cabinet of France, in one separate series, as we have done the medals of Corinth, those of the Achaian league, and those staters of gold, the topography of which is uncertain, notwithstanding the analogy of their types to those of the various cities of Asia.

The classification of these coins, of which several are inedited, has facilitated their comparison, and led to several corrections and new discoveries. The cistophori described by Mionnet, and which are in the cabinet of France, belong to the following cities: Atarnea and Pergamos in Mysia, Ephesus in Ionia, Sardis and Tralles in Lydia, Apamea and Laodicea in Phrygia.

wrong Mionnet also mentions cistophori of Nysa in Caria<sup>4</sup> and Philadelphia in Lydia.<sup>5</sup>

Those of Nysa are not in the cabinet of France; one belonged to M. Rollin, the other was published by Sestini, *Lettere Num. tom. ix. p. 24, tab. ii. fig. 27.*

<sup>3</sup> The ordinary weight of a cistophorus is 12 grammes and two or three decigrammes more or less.

The drachm containing four grammes and five decigrammes, the cistophori must therefore be tridrachms.

<sup>4</sup> *Descript. de Médailles, suppl. tom. vi. p. 517, Nos. 394, 395.*

<sup>5</sup> *Descript. de Médailles, tom. iv. p. 97, No. 523.*

That attributed to Philadelphia is erroneously so placed. We have restored it to the city of Pergamos, to which it evidently belongs; as the monogram, composed of the letters ΠΕΡΓ, which is constantly found on the cistophori of that city, sufficiently proves. Of this we shall again speak on another page.

The countries of which we have cistophori are Mysia, the Troade, Lydia and Phrygia.<sup>6</sup> The coinage of cistophori continued in the principal cities of the Asiatic provinces after the Roman conquest,<sup>7</sup> as the *Conventus Juridici* of the people of those countries was established by the Roman proconsuls who severally held their forum there. We find, at a later period, the names of Roman magistrates on the cistophori, conjointly with those of Greek magistrates. According to all accounts, the districts under the authority of these tribunals each furnished its proportion of silver for the coinage of the cistophori; and this was taken in payment of the tribute exacted of them in that coin by the Romans.

The time when cistophori were first struck can hardly be determined with accuracy. Certain it is, that this kind of money was already known in Asia about the year 564 A.V.C.—190 years B.C.; since it is on record that the Consul Manlius Acilius Glabrio, having defeated Antiochus the Great in that year, carried, in his triumph, 248,000 cisto-

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<sup>6</sup> Panel attributed cistophori to the island of Crete: but this opinion has been abundantly refuted by Neumann and Eckhel, who declare the coins bearing the word ΚΡΗΤΑΙΩΝ, which Panel published from Goltzius, to be false.

<sup>7</sup> Attalus III. on his death, in the year 133 B.C., bequeathed his states to the Romans. This king of Pergamos possessed Mysia, Ætolia, Ionia and Phrygia. The Romans afterwards annexed to it Caria, Lycia and the island of Rhodes.



phori. Lucius Cornelius Scipio also took 331,070 cistophori from the same Antiochus, and Æmilius Regillus 151,000 from his fleet.

The large number of these coins found, proves that they were spread over the whole of Asia like those of the Athenians. The commerce of Asia Minor extended to far distant countries; and the fertility of its territory brought large revenues into its coffers, of which Cicero speaks (*Pro Lege Manilia*). As a proof that this coin was circulated in distant parts, it is said that when Consul Manlius Vulso conquered the Gallo-Greeks<sup>8</sup> he took from them 250,000 cistophori.<sup>9</sup>

Cicero also speaks of cistophori in another place, where he says, "I have in Asia the sum of 400,000 sestertii in cistophori."<sup>10</sup>

He says, in another letter to Atticus, "I have written to the city quæstors on my brother Quintus's affairs; take care that they answer, and see what hope there is of obtaining the denarii, otherwise we shall be obliged to content ourselves with Pompey's cistophori."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The Gauls settled in Asia Minor, who were called by the Greeks Helleno-Galatians, and by the Romans Gallo-Greeks, after several contests with Antiochus Soter, king of Syria, and Attalus, king of Pergamos, finally established themselves in that part of Phrygia bordering on Cappadocia and Paphlagonia which then took the name of Galatia. This event took place 241 years B.C., and 37 after their arrival in Asia.

<sup>9</sup> Titus Livius, enumerating the sums carried in the triumph of Consul Manlius Vulso over the Gallo-Greeks, specifies 127,000 Attic tetradrachms, 16,000 golden Philippi, and 250,000 cistophori. Lib. xxxix.

<sup>10</sup> In cistophoro, in Asia habeo ad sestertium bis et vicies. Ad Attic. lib. ii. ep. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Scripsi ad quæstores urbanos de Q. fratris negotio; vide quid narrent, et quæ spes sit denarii; an cistophoro Pompeiano



The ordinary type of the cistophori, and from which they derive their name, is a mystical cista on the obverse with a serpent issuing from it surrounded by a crown of ivy and vine leaves.

The reverse presents a quiver, near which is seen a bow surrounded by two entwined serpents. We do not agree with those authors who have thought this quiver to be the mystic fan.<sup>12</sup>

Serpents appear to have been the symbol of Asia. Pomponius Mela<sup>13</sup> says, "The figure of Asia Minor holds in its hands a serpent, perhaps because serpents abound in that country."

On one of the coins of Augustus, which bears on the reverse the figures of two serpents, we read ASIA SUBACTA.

On a quinarius of the same emperor, we find Victory seated on a mystical cista, near which appear two serpents, and the legend ASIA RECEPTA COS. VI. PONT. IMP. VII.<sup>14</sup> The same type is also found on a gold coin of Vespasian.

On a silver denarius of Hadrian, the personification of

jaceamur.—Ad Attic. lib. ii. ep. 6. Pompey brought out of Asia, after the war with Mithridates, besides other immense riches, 17,050 talents of coined silver, more than 25,000,000 of our livres (French). It appears that he had placed his cistophori here, and that the quæstors who paid the salaries of the governors of the provinces wished to pay Quintus Cicero in that coin. That governor wished for Roman money.

<sup>12</sup> Panel inclined towards this opinion; and Spanheim (p. 16) thought it to be a cista: they have both been refuted by Winckelmann (Mon. Antiq. Ined. No. 53). Vide also Phætra à mystico vanno diversa (Venuti ad Mus. Albani, i. p. 77).

<sup>13</sup> Serpentem manu forsan comprimit Asiæ Minoris typus, quod Asia serpentibus abundaret. (Pompon. Mela, lib. i. c. 19).

<sup>14</sup> Eckhel, Mus. Vindob. p. 82.—Doct. Num., lib. vi. p. 82.—D'Ennery, 256.

Asia stands on the prow of a vessel and holds a serpent.<sup>15</sup> Serpents may have become the symbol of Asia, after that country had adopted them on its coinage, for the purpose of calling to mind the worship of Bacchus, which they carried to a great extent.

The Bacchantes in the mysteries were crowned with serpents. The serpent was one of the symbols of initiation into the Bacchanalian orgies.<sup>16</sup> For further remarks on this subject, vide Clement of Alexandria and Nonnus on the *Dionysiaca*.

The worship of Bacchus was much honoured in Asia; and the name of that god was often given as a surname to its princes.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, was surnamed Evius, Nysius, Bacchus and Liber. Antigonus, king of Asia, and Antiochus VI., king of Syria, also bore the name of Dionysius. Mark Antony took the same name. This prince also coined cistophori bearing his own figure.

The cistophori of all ages are uniform in type, except those of later times, when the Romans altered the primitive type. There was, however, no change but in those bearing the name of the Roman magistrates.

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<sup>15</sup> Gessner, *Imp.* 84. Oisell, *Sel. Num. tab.* 16, fig. 84.

<sup>16</sup> Bacchantes serpentibus coronatos. Signum Bacchicorum orgiorum esse initiatum serpentem.—Clem. Alex. in *Protrept.*



*Catalogue of Cistophori in the Cabinet of France.*

## MYSIA.

## ATARNEA.

- 1.—A cista half opened with a serpent escaping from it, surrounded by a wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

R.—Two serpents entwined round a quiver ornamented with a flower resembling the acrostolium. Above is the monogram of Atarnea and the letter marked No. 2. in the plate.—To the right is a lighted torch.<sup>17</sup>  
AR. 7.

Du Mersan, Coll. Allier de Hauteroche, pl. xii. No. 2.  
Mionnet, Suppl. No. 94.

- 2.—A similar one; instead of the torch, a thyrsus encircled by a serpent.<sup>18</sup> AR. 7.

Mionnet, 95.

Sestini, Descr. del Mus. Hedervar. ii. p. 82. pl. xvii. 1.

- 3.—The same. AR. 7.

- 4.—The same. AR. 7.

## PARIUM.

- 5.—Cista half opened with a serpent escaping from it, surrounded by a wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

<sup>17</sup> The symbols are represented in the annexed plate, with the number of each coin attached.

<sup>18</sup> Sestini and Mionnet (following him) have described it as a sword instead of a thyrsus, encircled by a serpent; but the figure has no similarity to a sword. It is a baton surmounted by a kind of ball, undoubtedly a pine apple, which is usually seen on the top of thyrsi. The character No. 3, to the left, has been figured by Mionnet as a Koph, but it cannot be that letter: it is a symbol with which we are unacquainted.



R.—Two serpents entwined round a quiver containing a bow. To the left, a monogram composed of the letters ΠΑ, fig. No. 4. To the right, an owlet enclosed in a square, beneath which is an Α. AR. 8.

Described by Mionnet as an Apamean coin, No. 183.

6.—The same: on the field to the right is a bull's head with two garlands. AR. 7.

Mionnet, *ibid.* 184.

7.—The same: on the field to the right, a tripod surrounded by a serpent. AR. 8.

Mionnet, *ibid.* 117 suppl.

8.—The same: to the right, the parazonium. AR. 9.

The first three of these coins were described by Mionnet as belonging to Apamea in Phrygia. They differ too much from the other cistophori attributed to that city to be kept in that classification. The cistophori of Apamea always bear to the left, on the field of the coin, the letters ΑΠΑ, the initials of the name of the city, the names of the magistrates at full length, and near the serpent to the right, the double flute, which is found on several coins of that city, in the hands of Marsyas (Mionnet, Nos. 219, 220 et seq.).

I remove the coins above described to Parium in Mysia, of which city they bear the initials in the monogram No. 4, composed of the letters ΠΑ. The same monogram is also found on the little bronze medal assigned to Parium by Mionnet (No. 409); and on another, of which he makes mention in the Cousinery collection (No. 393). The cabinet of France possesses one very similar, on which only the letter Π appears, and which bears the same type as those of No. 655 et seq. in the supplement.

*Obv.*—An ox walking.

*R.*—ΠΑΠΙ, altar.

With regard to the symbols accompanying the principal figure on the cistophori which I attribute to Parium, we find them, both types and symbols, on various coins of that city; amongst others, the owlet, with the letters ΠΑΠΙ at the back of Medusa's head (Mionnet, Suppl. 664). An ox's head as a symbol, under an ox walking (Mionnet 382).

We thus increase the rich numismatology of Parium, a city of importance, as it was among the number of those which coined cistophori.

#### PERGAMOS.

9.—Ordinary type.

*R.*—Ordinary type. To the left of the quiver, the monogram No. 5, composed of the letters ΠΕΡΓ. To the right, a victory.

Mionnet, 470. AR. 8.

10.—The same; to the right, a club. AR. 8.

11.—The same; to the right, a palm branch. AR. 8½.

12.—The same; above the quiver, ΑΣ. To the right, Medusa's head. AR. 7.

13.—The same; above the quiver, the monogram No. 7, composed of the letters ΔΥ. To the right, a club the head of which terminates in a caduceus. AR. 6.

14.—The same; to the left, the monogram No. 6, composed of the letters ΠΕΡ. This monogram has one stroke less than usual. To the right, ΝΙ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 469.

15.—The same; above the quiver, the letters ΑC. To the right, a thyrsus surrounded by a serpent. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 473.

16.—Exactly the same. AR. 9.

VOL. IX.

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- 17.—The same ; above the quiver, monogram No. 8. composed of the letters ΑΠΑ. AR. 7½
- 18.—The same ; the letters above the quiver, ΑΣ. AR. 9.
- 19.—The same ; ΑΣ. AR. 7½
- 20.—The same ; ΑΜ. AR. 7.  
Mionnet, 472.
- 21.—The same ; ΒΟ. AR. 7½.
- 22.—The same ; monogram, No. 19. composed of the letters ΔΡ. AR. 7.
- 23.—The same ; ΚΑ. AR. 7.  
Mionnet, 171.
- 24.—The same ; ΑΥ. AR. 8.
- 25.—The same ; ΜΑ. AR. 7.
- 26.—The same ; ΝΙ. AR. 7.
- 27.—The same ; ΜΗ. A lion's skin upon a club. AR. 8.
- 28.—The same.  
R.—To the right, a thyrsus. Above the quiver, ΑΠ and the monogram No. 9. composed of the letters ΠΡΥΤ. A star. AR. 7.
- 29.—The same.  
R.—Monogram No. 5. ΑΠ ; monogram No. 9, a star. Thyrsus surrounded by a serpent. AR. 7.
- 30.—The same.  
R.—ΑΡ ; monogram, No. 9. AR. 7.
- 31.—The same.  
R.—ΒΑ. Id. AR. 7.
- 32.—The same.  
R.—ΔΗ. Id. AR. 7.
- 33.—The same.  
R.—ΔΙ. Id. AR. 7.
- 34.—Exactly the same. AR. 8.
- 35.—The same.  
R.—ΕΥ. Id. AR. 8.



36.—The same.

R.—KA. Id. AR. 8.

37.—The same.

R.—KP. Id. AR. 8.

38.—The same.

R.—KT. Id. AR. 7.

39.—The same.

R.—ME. Id. (Panel, p. 7). AR. 7.

40.—The same.

R.—ME; monogram No. 10. composed of the letters  
ΠΡΥΤΑ. (Panel, p. 51). AR. 7.

41.—The same.

R. MH. AR. 7.

42.—The same.

R.—ΜΟΣ; monogram No. 9, composed of the letters  
ΠΡΥΤ within a wreath of laurel. AR. 8.

43.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ; monogram N

44.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ. Id. AR. 8.

45.—The same.

R.—ΠΞ. Id. AR. 7.

46.—The same.

R.—TH. Id. AR. 7.

47.—The same.

R.—TEY. Id. AR. 7.

48.—The same.

R.—ΦΙ. Id. AR. 7.

Mionnet (Descr. tom. 4. p. 97. No. 523) described this  
coin as belonging to Philadelphia in Lydia, through  
want of attention to the monogram of Pergamos.

49.—Exactly similar; AR. 7.

M. Borell, by the same inadvertency, attributed this coin to Philomelium in Phrygia.

50.—The same.

Monogram, No. 11.

51.—The same.

R.—Quiver and serpents, C. PVLCHER. PROCOS.<sup>19</sup>  
MHNOΔΩΠΟΣ. (Panel, p. 107). AR. 7.

52.—The same.

R.—Q. METELLVS PIVS SCIPIO IMPER.<sup>20</sup>  
The Roman eagle between two entwined serpents.  
AR. 8. (Panel, p. 52.)

The letters above the quiver are undoubtedly the initials of the magistrates' names from No. 12 to 27. No title is added; but after that number appears the monogram No. 9, composed, of the letters ΠΡΥΤ which indicates the dignity of Prytanis.<sup>21</sup> On the coin numbered 40 the monogram consists of the letter A in addition to the others ΠΡΥΤΑ. On that marked No. 42, this monogram is enclosed within a wreath of laurels.

<sup>19</sup> Pulcher was proconsul in Asia about 700 A. v. c.; he is mentioned by Cicero, but only as a prætor.

<sup>20</sup> This legend betokens the son of Proconsul Scipio Nasica, who was adopted by Q. Metellus Pius, and who was afterwards proconsul of Asia, about 705, A. v. c.

<sup>21</sup> The Prytanis at Athens and in other cities formed the principal part of the senate. The president of the senate is sometimes denominated Prytanis (Thucyd. lib. vi. ch. 14). At Rhodes the Prytanis was the head magistrate. At Corinth the Prytanis were chosen annually (Pausan. lib. ii. cap. 4). At Tarsus their authority lasted but six months. (Dio Chrys. Orat. xxxi. p. 424). In several inscriptions the title of Prytanis is added to those of other offices (Vide Vandale, Dissert. de Prytane Græc. p. 396).

Vaillant, on a coin of Caracalla struck at Ægialus, thus explains the legend, ΕΠΙ. ΑΡΧ. ΠΡΥΤΑΝΕΙ ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΟΥ Β.



It appears to have been doubted whether this monogram was that of a title or proper name, for which Vaillant (Méd. Grecq.) mistook it, in describing a coin of Cumæ in Æolia.<sup>22</sup> But Eckhel doubts not, that on cistophori these letters signify the title of the magistrate whose initials precede them.

The title of Prytanis is rarely found on coins; for except on cistophori, we only find it on those of Cumæ in Æolia, Smyrna, and Miletus in Ionia, and Synnada in Phrygia.

## THE TROADE.

### DARDANUS.

53.—Cista, serpent, and wreath.

R.—Monogram No. 19. composed of the letters ΔΑΡ;  
quiver between two serpents. Above, the monogram  
No. 13. To the right, a bunch of grapes. AR. 7.

This coin assigned at first by Wiczai to Adramytium in Mysia has been restored by Sestini to Dardanus. It has been lately purchased for the cabinet of France; it formed a part of the Wiczai-Hedervar Museum. It was marked in that museum as belonging to the city of Adramytium,

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ΕΠΙΛΑΕΩΝ sub Archonte Prytanide Epicratis filio, under the Archon Prytanides, son of Epicrates, instead of, under the Archon and Prytanis Epicrates.

Spanheim has also interpreted this word as a proper name on a coin of Smyrna (De Præst. Num. p. 700).



with the expression of a doubt whether it might not belong to Dardanus; but Wiczai, the author of the description preferred a city in Mysia, because of its neighbourhood to Pergamos, where cistophori are in great abundance.

Sestini, in his new description of the Hedervar Museum, transferred it to the city of Dardanus, which we think correct. He mentions a similar cistophorus in the Bavarian Museum bearing above the quiver, the letters ΔΙΟΙ, Diogenes, and to the right, the figure of an owl, and another with the single letter Δ, tom. ii. pl. 17. Nos. 2 and 3.

54.—The same.

R.—The monogram No. 19, composed of the letters ΔΑΡ;  
above the quiver, ΚΑΣ; to the right, an ear of corn.  
AR. 7.

## IONIA.

### EPHESUS.

55.—Cista, serpent, and wreath.

R.—Quiver and serpent; to the left, ΕΦΕ, and a quiver or vase. Vide plate No. 56. AR. 8.

Mionnet, No. 193.

56.—The same.

R.—ΕΦΕ; to the right of the quiver, the numeral letter B (the number two); bust of Diana of Ephesus.  
Vide plate No. 57. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 194.

57.—Another very similar. AR. 8.

58.—The same.

R.—To the left, ΕΦΕ; to the right of the quiver, the idol Diana of Ephesus at full length with its supports.  
AR. 8.

59.—The same.

R.—To the left, ΕΦΕ; above, Κ (the number twenty);  
to the right, a side-faced bust of Diana turned  
towards the right. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 195.

60.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, AK (twenty-one); to the right, a double cornucopia. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 196.

61.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, ΛΔ (thirty-four); above the quiver, a tripod; to the right, a torch. AR. 9.

Mionnet, 197.

62.—The same.

R.—EΦE; to the right of the quiver, a Victory bearing a crown. AR. 8.

63.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, MΔ (forty-four); above the quiver, a thunderbolt; to the right, a torch. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 198.

64.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, ME (forty-five), above the quiver, the staff of Esculapius surrounded by a serpent; to the right, a torch. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 199.

65.—Exactly the same. AR. 8.

66.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, MH (forty-eight); above the quiver, a head crowned with ears of corn and poppies. AR. 7.

Mionnet 200, (instead of a head Mionnet has put a basket).

67.—Another specimen in better preservation. AR. 7.

68.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, MΘ (forty-nine); above the quiver, a Victory holding a palm branch. AR. 8.

Mionnet, Suppl. 263.

69.—The same.

R.—EΦE; above, NB (fifty-two); above the quiver, Persea's flower.

Mionnet, Suppl. 264.



70.—The same.

R.—ΕΦΕ; above, ΝΓ (fifty-three); above the quiver,  
another quiver. AR. 7.  
Mionnet, Suppl. 265.

71.—The same.

R.—ΕΦΕ; above, ΝΖ (fifty-seven); above the quiver,  
a pilaster formed of the god Priapus. Vide plate  
No. 72. AR. 8.  
Mionnet, Suppl. 266.

72.—The same.

R.—ΕΦΕ; above, ΞΓ (sixty-three); above the quiver, an  
ear of corn between two cornucopiæ. AR. 7.  
Mionnet, 201.

73.—The same.

R.—ΞΖ (sixty-seven). AR. 8.

74.—The same.

R.—ΞΕ (sixty-five). AR. 7.  
Mionnet, Suppl. 267.

75.—The same.

R.—ΞΖ (sixty-seven); above the quiver, a palm-branch  
between two cornucopiæ. AR. 7.  
Mionnet, Suppl. 269.

76.—The same.

R.—ΞΕ (sixty-six); above the quiver, a torch between  
two cornucopiæ. AR. 8.

77.—The same.

R.—ΞΙ (seventy). AR. 8.  
Mionnet, Suppl. 270.

78.—The same.

R.—ΕΦΕ; quiver and serpents, PROCOS.<sup>22</sup> ΣΟΠΑΤΡΟΣ.  
AR. 7.  
Mionnet, 204.

(To be resumed.)

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<sup>22</sup> The proconsul's name is wanting.



## II.

NUMISMATIC ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE ACTS OF  
THE APOSTLES.§ 1.—A CENTURION OF THE BAND CALLED THE  
ITALIAN BAND.—Acts x. 1.

Ἑκατοντάρχης ἐκ σπείρης τῆς καλουμένης Ἰταλικῆς.  
Considerable doubt exists as to what is here meant by the σπείρα Ἰταλική, or “Italian band.” It is referred by several writers to the *Legio Italica*, or *Italica prima* so often mentioned by Tacitus;<sup>1</sup> but we know from Dion Cassius<sup>2</sup> that this legion was raised by Nero, and, consequently, that it was not in existence when the events narrated by St. Luke took place. Nor can it have been either of the other two “*Legiones Italicæ*,” as they were raised by Marcus Aurelius.<sup>3</sup>

We know from Josephus, that the Roman troops serving in Syria and Judæa were mainly composed of levies raised on the spot.<sup>4</sup> We learn, however, that there were volunteer *Italian* cohorts serving in Syria by an inscription in Gruter.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hist. lib. i. cap. 59, 64, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Lib. lv. cap. 24.

<sup>3</sup> Dion. Cass. lib. lv. cap. 24.

<sup>4</sup> Νεοσυλλέκτου τοῦ Ῥωμαίου στρατεύματος ὄντος, καὶ πολέμων ἀπείρως ἔχοντος, καὶ γὰρ πολὺ ἐκ Συρίας ἦν κατειλέγμενον. Ant. xiv. 15, 10. He says the same thing in his Bell. Jud. lib. i. 17, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Corpus Inscr. cccxxxiv. 1; Orellius, Ins. Lat. Select. cap. xiv. 8vo. Turrici, 1828.

L . MAESIO . L . F . POL  
 RVFO . PROC . AVG  
 TRIB . MIL . LEG . XV  
 APOLLINARIS . TRIB  
 COH . MIL . ITALIC . VOLVNT  
 QVAE . EST . IN . SYRIA . PRAEF  
 FABRVM . BIS

The *σπεῖρα Ἰταλική* was then most probably a cohort serving in Syria and quartered at Cæsarea, composed of natives of Italy, and called *Ἰταλική* to distinguish it from those which consisted of troops raised in Syria.

Of the legions serving in Syria and Judæa before the time of Vespasian, little is known. Tacitus informs us that the 6th legion was in Syria early in the reign of Tiberius.<sup>6</sup>

The Legions actually serving in Syria at various times, were, according to Tacitus, as follows:—

1. Legio III. Gallica. Hist. lib. ii. cap. 74., lib. iv. cap. 39.
2. „ IV. Scythica. Ann. lib. xv. 6, 7, 26.
3. „ VI. Ferrata. Ann. xv. 6.
4. „ XII. Fulminifera. Hist. v. 1.

Of these the first (Gallica) is mentioned on coins of Tyre of S. Severus, Domna, Caracalla, Geta, Macrinus, and Valerianus.<sup>7</sup>

LEG. IV. is not mentioned on coins of Syria or Judæa.

LEG. VI. occurs on a coin of Otacilia Severa, struck at Damascus.<sup>8</sup>

LEG. XII. is not mentioned on coins of Syria or Judæa.

<sup>6</sup> Ann. lib. ii. cap. 79.

<sup>7</sup> Vaillant Num. in Colon. percussa. Mionnet, Descr. tom. v. p. 428.

<sup>8</sup> Mionnet, Descr., tom. v. p. 293.



The legions in *Judæa* were, according to Tacitus,

- |          |                  |                       |
|----------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Legio | V. Macedonica.   | Hist. lib. v. cap. 1. |
| 2. „     | X.               | Hist. lib. v. cap. 1. |
| 3. „     | XV. Apollinaris. | Hist. lib. v. cap. 1. |

LEG. V. Macedonica is mentioned on a coin of Gallienus, and coupled with LEG. VIII., on a coin of Augustus struck at Berytus,<sup>9</sup> and on a coin of Philip struck at Heliopolis in Cœle Syria.<sup>10</sup>

LEG. X. occurs on a coin of Ptolemais, with three other Legions.<sup>11</sup>

LEG. XV. is only mentioned on coins of M. Antonius.

Eckhel<sup>12</sup> thinks that from LEG. VIII. being coupled with LEG. V. on the coins of Berytus from Augustus to Gallienus, it must be added to the four legions mentioned above as quartered in Syria, admitting, however, that it is against the authority of Dion Cassius, who says it was quartered in Germania superior,<sup>13</sup> and he adds that Schöpflein mentions a tile inscribed LEG. VIII. AVG. found near Strasburg; but as it is only an inference of Eckhel drawn from the appearance of LEG. VIII. on coins of Berytus and Heliopolis, that the eighth legion was in Syria; and since it is unsupported, and history is against it, we must seek some other explanation for the appearance of LEG. VIII. joined to LEG. V. on those coins.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. tom. v. p. 337.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. tom. v. p. 304.

<sup>11</sup> Leg. VI., IX., XI. Mionnet, tom. v. p. 475.

<sup>12</sup> Doct. Num. Vet. vol. iii. p. 335.

<sup>13</sup> Οἱ δὲ ὄγδοοι Ἀνγούστειοι, ἐν τῇ Γερμανίᾳ τῇ ἄνω ὄντος.  
lib. lv.



§ 2.—“NOW, ABOUT THAT TIME, HEROD THE KING STRETCHED FORTH HIS HANDS, TO VEX CERTAIN OF THE CHURCH.”—Acts xii. 1.

This was Agrippa the First,<sup>14</sup> the son of Aristobolus and Berenice, and grandson of Herod the Great, by whom, after his father's death, he was sent to the court of Tiberius at Rome. The affection which that depraved emperor is said to have entertained for him, exhibits him in an unfavourable light; and his youth appears to have been spent in a most licentious and profligate manner. He was the favourite of the empress Antonia, and the prince Drusus; but on the death of Drusus, all his intimate friends were ordered by Tiberius to quit Rome, that their presence might not keep alive his affliction. Overwhelmed with debts, Agrippa quitted Rome and sought a private life, from which he was induced to emerge by his uncle Herod the Tetrarch, who appointed him to an office in the city of Tiberias, and gave him a large sum of money. But this was soon dissipated, and his continued extravagance exhausted the liberality of Herod, who at length refused him further assistance, and reproached him for his prodigality. Whereupon Agrippa quitted Judæa, and repaired to Rome, having, to accomplish this, borrowed a large sum of money from his friends. Landing in Italy, he repaired to Capræa, where Tiberius was wallowing in sensuality and crime. The emperor, whose grief for the loss of Drusus time had overcome, received him kindly, and even gave

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<sup>14</sup> This prince is generally styled *Magnus*; and certainly if the most consummate craft procured for his grandfather that designation, Agrippa had some claim also to be called “great.”

him an apartment in his palace. But Agrippa's creditors were clamorous in their demands, and sent letters to Capræa, when Tiberius ordered him to quit the place. Having obtained from the empress Antonia a sum sufficient to extricate him from his difficulties, he succeeded in re-establishing himself in the favour of the emperor. He soon after attached himself to Caius Caligula, son of Germanicus, and grandson of Antonia, and became his constant companion. Fresh troubles, however, awaited him. One day, while riding with Caius, he incautiously expressed a hope that Tiberius would soon die, and leave the empire to that prince. This was overheard by the charioteer, who being afterwards detected in a theft, intimated that he had something of importance to communicate to the emperor. Tiberius at first refused to hear the man, but at length yielded to the entreaty of Agrippa himself. Agrippa was immediately put in chains, and remained in custody until the death of the emperor, which happened six months afterwards, when the condition of Agrippa was changed from that of a captive to a king. Caligula sent for him to his palace, placed a diadem on his head, and appointed him king of Gaulonitis, Batanea, and Trachonitis, and gave him, besides, the tetrarchy of Lysanias, the iron chain by which he had been fastened to a soldier being exchanged for a gold one of equal weight. In the second year of Caligula, Agrippa proceeded from Rome to take possession of his kingdom. He went by way of Egypt, where at Alexandria he met with the memorable insult recorded by Philo. On the death of Caligula (A.D. 41 or 42), Claudius succeeded to the empire, when he at once raised Agrippa to the rank of consul, and gave him Samaria, Judæa, Abila, and a part of Libanus. Agrippa now possessed the entire kingdom of his grandfather Herod the Great. In



the third year of his reign over all Palestine (A.D. 44), he "stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church;" and influenced, as is supposed, partly by a desire for popularity, and partly by his zeal for the religion of the Jews, beheaded the apostle James, the brother of John, and imprisoned Peter. He shortly after celebrated at Cæsarea games in honour of the emperor; and on the second day appeared in the theatre clad in a magnificent robe of silver, to give audience to the Sidonians and Tyrians, when, at the close of an address which he made to them, they saluted him as a god. Instead of reproving his flatterers, he received the impious adulation complacently, and was shortly afterwards seized with violent internal pains, and expired at the end of five days in great torment. This account, which we find in Josephus, agrees in the chief particulars with that contained in the chapter from which the extract at the head of this section is taken.<sup>15</sup>

We have now to consider the coins of Herod Agrippa, which confirm the accounts of the historians. Mionnet describes three with the head of Caligula,<sup>16</sup> and four which were struck in the reign of Claudius;<sup>17</sup> but with one exception they are all in indifferent preservation, and contain but portions of the legends.<sup>18</sup> The example here engraved is a coin of great rarity and interest. The obverse bears the head of Agrippa, with the title of Megas—BACIAEYC

<sup>15</sup> For the events of this prince's life consult Josephus, Ant. xviii. ix. 1; and xix. vi. 1; xix. vii. 5; Suetonius in Calig. 38, and in Claud. x.; Dion. Cass. lv. Tacit. Ann. vi.

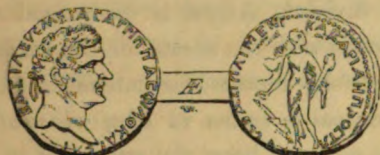
<sup>16</sup> Description, vol. v. p. 568, Nos. 82, 83, 84.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. Nos. 85, 86, 87, 88.

<sup>18</sup> One of these is from Wise's description of the coins of the Bodleian Museum, p. 118, bearing the diademed head of Agrippa. *Rev.* Agrippa, the younger, on horseback, and the remains of a legend  $\alpha\gamma\rho\iota\mu\eta\alpha . \Upsilon\iota\omicron\Upsilon . \text{BAC}\iota\lambda\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ .



ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ. ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ. *King Agrippa the Great, lover of Caesar.* R. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΑ Η ΠΟΡΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ΑΙΜΕΝΙ, i. e. *Cæsarea ad portum Sebastum.* Fortune standing with her attributes.



§ 3.—“THE DEPUTY OF THE COUNTRY, SERGIUS PAULUS.”

Acts xiii. 7.

Ὁς ἦν σὺν τῷ ἀνθυπάτῳ Σεργίῳ Παύλῳ. The accuracy of Saint Luke in applying the term ἀνθύπατος to the governor of Cyprus has been called in question by more than one commentator,<sup>19</sup> on the ground that Cyprus was governed by a proprætor, not by a proconsul at the time when Saint Paul visited it; and a passage from Strabo<sup>20</sup> has been brought forward, in which, after describing the mission of Marcus Cato to take possession of the island of Cyprus, he adds, ἐξ ἐκείνου δ' ἐγένετο ἐπαρχία ἡ νήσος, καθάπερ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ, στρατηγική. The authors, too, of our version of the New Testament appear to have felt some difficulty here, as, instead of giving the word ἀνθύπατος its literal meaning, “proconsul,” they translated it “deputy,” a term applying to “proconsul,” or “proprætor,” indifferently.

We have, both from Strabo<sup>21</sup> and Dio Cassius,<sup>22</sup> an account

<sup>19</sup> Hammond. Grotius.

<sup>20</sup> Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 685 A.

<sup>21</sup> Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 840. D.

<sup>22</sup> Dion Cass. liii. 12.

of the division of the Roman Provinces by Augustus, with the names of those respectively allotted to the Emperor and to the Senate; and they both agree in stating, that in this division Cyprus was allotted to the Emperor. But Strabo omits a circumstance which Dio Cassius mentions, that, soon after the first division, Augustus exchanged Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis with the senate for Dalmatia. In a subsequent passage<sup>23</sup> he repeats this statement, and adds, *καὶ οὕτως ἀνθύπατοι καὶ ἐς ἐκεῖνα τὰ ἔθνη πέμπεσθαι ἤρξαντο*. Here, then, we not only have the statement of Strabo corrected, and by authority fully equal to his, but we have the same word as that used by St. Luke applied to the governor of Cyprus. It cannot be objected that, in the above-quoted passage, Dion is speaking of several Roman provinces, "one of which was certainly governed by a proconsul; and that, therefore, for the sake of brevity, he used one term for all of them, whether it applied to them or not;" he is speaking but of two, and he uses the word *ἀνθύπατοι* (in the plural).

Bishop Marsh<sup>24</sup> further remarks on this passage, "That Cyprus however ought not to be excepted, and that the title which he (Dion Cassius) employed, as well as Saint Luke, really did belong to the Roman governors of Cyprus, appears from an inscription on a Greek coin belonging to Cyprus itself, and struck in the very age in which Sergius Paulus was governor of that island. It was struck in the reign of Claudius Cæsar, whose head and name are on the face of it; and, in the reign of Claudius Cæsar St. Paul visited Cyprus. On this coin the same title, *ἀνθύπατος*, is given to Cominius

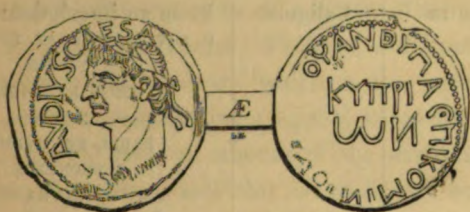
<sup>23</sup> Dion Cassius, lib. iv.

<sup>24</sup> Lectures, part v. On the authenticity of the New Testament, Lect. xxvi. p. 85. The preceding quotation in inverted commas is from the same Lecture.



Proclus which is given by Saint Luke to Sergius Paulus; and the coincidence which it shews is of that description that it is sufficient of itself to establish the authenticity of the work in which the coincidence is found."

The writer of the foregoing passage quotes the coin from Morell; but the engraving here given is from an actual specimen, which, though not in the most perfect preservation, retains sufficient of its type and legend to answer our purpose.



*Obv.*—(TI) (CL)AVDIVS CAESA(R)(AVG). Laureated head of Claudius to the left.

*R.*—ΕΠΙ ΚΟΜΙΝΙΟΥ (ΠΡΟΚΛ)ΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑ(ΤΟΥ) ΚΥ- ΠΡΙΩΝ. i.e. (money) of the Cyprians, under Cominius Proclus, Proconsul.

The name of Proclus is here partly obliterated; but on some, in other respects less perfect examples, the name is plainly decypherable.

There is, however, other monumental evidence which may not be uninteresting to the antiquary and historian, and it is therefore given in the annexed table.

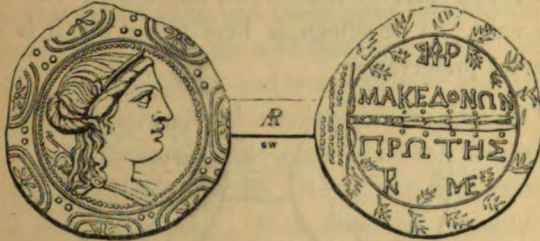


# THE PROCONSULS OF CYPRUS.

Name.	Reign.	Authorities.
Aulus Plautius.	Augustus and Tiberius.	<p>1. Coin of Augustus. DIVI. F. IMP. CAESAR. Head of Augustus. R.—A. PLAVTIVS PROCOS. The temple of the Paphian Venus. Mus. Hederv. i. p. 240. No. 5358.</p> <p>2. Coin of Livia. LIVIA IMP. CAESAR. Head of Livia. R.—A. PLAVTIVS PROCOS. Sestini, Lett. viii. 90.</p>
Aquius Scaura.	Caligula.	<p>From an inscription:— P. AQVIVS. SCAEVAE. ET. FLAVIAE FILIVS CONSI. ET. DIDIAE NEPOS BARBI. ET. DVRICIAE PRONEPOS SCAVRA * * * * * * * * PROCONSVLE. PROVINCIAM CYPVM. OBTINVIT * * * * * * * * AVCTORITATE. C. CAESAR. ET. S. C. MISSO. AD. COMPONENDVM STATVM IN. RELIQVVM. PROVINCIAE. CYPRI <i>Gruter</i>, ccclx. 3.</p>
Cominius Proclus.	Claudius.	See the coin on preceding page.
Quadratus.	Claudius or Nero.	<p>From an inscription:— C. VMMIDIO. C. F. TER. DVRMIO QVADRATO. COS. XV. VIR. S. F. LEG. TI. CAESARIS. AVG. IN. PROV. LVSIT. LEG. DIVI. CLAVDII. IN ILLYRICO. EIVSDEM. ET NERONIS. CAESARIS. AVG. IN. SYRIA PROCOS. PROVINC. CYPRI.... DIVI. AVG. ET TI. CAESARIS * * * * —Brotier, Not. et Em. in Tacit. xii. 45; Noris de Epoch, Sy- rom. dis. iii. p. 183.</p>

§ 4.—“AND FROM THENCE TO PHILIPPI, WHICH IS THE CHIEF CITY OF THAT PART OF MACEDONIA, AND A COLONY.”—Acts xvi. 12.

Ἐκεῖθεν τε εἰς Φιλίππους, ἥτις ἐστὶ πρώτη τῆς μερίδος τῆς Μακεδονίας πόλις κολώνια. The Vulgate has, “indeque in Philippos, quæ est prima partis Macedonia civitas, colonia;” and some have proposed to read, “a city of the first part of Macedonia, and a colony.”<sup>21</sup> But, as this reading involves the change from πρώτη to πρωτῆς, a change unsupported by the authority of a single MS., it cannot be adopted in these illustrations. Philippi, as a Roman colony, was certainly “*urbs primaria*,” which is the meaning some of the best commentators have agreed in giving to πρώτη πόλις.<sup>22</sup> Livy<sup>23</sup> gives an account of the division of Macedonia into four parts; and this is confirmed by coins, of which examples are here engraved.



Obv.—Head of Diana on the Macedonian buckler.

R.—MAKEΔONΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ; i. e. (Money) of the Macedonians of the first province. A club within an oaken garland: in the field various monograms.

<sup>21</sup> Wiclif gives it, “thennes to Filippis that is the first part of Macedony, the city colony.” But the versions of Tyndale and Cranmer, and of Rheims and Geneva, are similar to our own.

<sup>22</sup> Vide Kuinoel, Comment. Hist. et Critic. in Act. xvi. 12.

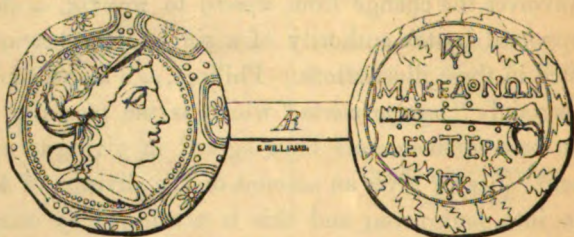
<sup>23</sup> Liv. lib. xlv. c. 29.



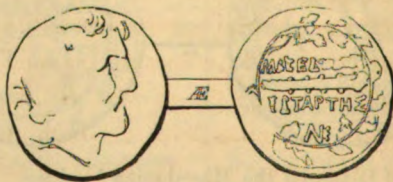
These coins are exceedingly common, vast numbers being sometimes discovered in Transylvania and Walachia, as noticed by Eckhel;<sup>24</sup> and many rude imitations exist, the performance of the barbarous people on the confines of the province.

There are also coins of the second portion or province, closely resembling the former, with the word ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ, which are scarce.

Of this province the capital was Thessalonica.



It is singular that of the third division no coins are known; and that of the fourth, but one or two solitary pieces exist. A specimen is here given, but it is in very indifferent preservation.



*Obv.*—Head of Jupiter.

R.—MAKEΔONON TETAPTHE. A club, and monograms within an oaken garland.

The reason for the adoption of the head of Diana on the coins of the first and second provinces may be referred to the worship of that divinity as Diana Tauropolos at Am-

<sup>24</sup> Doct. Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 63.



phipolis: the club is no doubt referrible to the Macedonian traditions, as to the descent of their kings from Hercules.

It may be added, in confirmation of the words of Saint Luke, that there are colonial coins of Philippi from the reign of Augustus to that of Caracalla. The following one is contemporary with the visit of Saint Paul:—

*Obv.*—TI. CLAUDIVS CAESAR AVG.....TRP. IMP. Bare head of Claudius to the left.

*R.*—COL. AVG. IVL. PHILIP. The Emperor standing on an estrade or tribune placed between two altars: behind him, a female figure (the genius of the city) placing a garland upon his head. Æ. 7.

Mionnet, tom. 1<sup>er</sup>, p. 487, No. 281.

§ 5.—“AND THE BRETHREN IMMEDIATELY SENT AWAY PAUL AND SILAS BY NIGHT UNTO BEREÆ.”

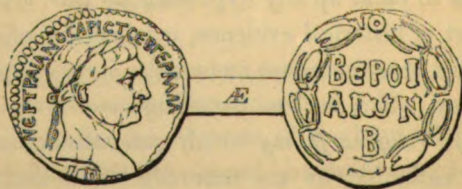
Acts xvii. 10.

We read in the chapter from which our quotation is taken, that Christianity had made great progress among the people of Berea. We are told that they were diligent in searching the Scriptures, and were attentive listeners to the apostles. Of the imperial coins struck in this city, we have only those of Trajan and Antoninus Pius; and they uniformly bear the same device on the reverse, viz., the name of the people within a garland. Now, although it would be presumptuous to build up any hypothesis on this type without the support of historical evidence, it is worthy of a passing remark, that these coins are among the few examples of ancient money, which bear no pagan figure or symbol. If we consider the *religious feeling* which generally influenced the artists of antiquity, we are naturally led to inquire what could have induced the rejection by the people of Berea of devices of a pagan character which abounded at this period

on the money of other cities. Although we have the testimony of Pliny<sup>25</sup> as to the spread of Christianity in the days of Trajan, it would perhaps be venturing too far to suggest that the absence of pagan devices on the coins of Berea is attributable to that fact. We must rather seek an explanation suggested by the narrative of Saint Luke; namely that the Jews were very numerous at Berea, and perhaps more strict than many of their brethren in other cities; and although not allowed to hold magisterial offices, were probably versed in the mechanic arts and employed in the mint; in which case they would naturally shun the representation of any living thing on the reverse, though the law compelled them to tolerate the head of Cæsar. If this conjecture be deemed inadmissible, it may be suggested, that, even supposing the Jews resident in this city to have no authority in the mint, the magistrates may have had a desire to offer nothing offensive to the Hebrew population on their local currency. The very common coin here engraved is of Trajan:—

*Obv.*—(IMPerator) NEPONA TPAIANOC APICTOC. EEBACTOC ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΣ, i. e. *Imperator Nerva Trajanus Optimus Augustus, Germanicus*. Laureated head of the Emperor to the right.

*R.*—ΒΕΡΟΙΑΙΩΝ. (Money) of the people of Berea; and the letter B (denoting the second year of the Emperor's reign), in two lines within a laurel garland.



<sup>25</sup> Lib. x. Epist. 97.



§ 6.—“THE TEMPLE OF THE GREAT GODDESS DIANA,—  
WHOM ALL ASIA AND THE WORLD WORSHIPPETH.”

Acts xix. 27.

This assertion of the “Town Clerk” is verified by the number of coins struck in the various cities of Greece, on which we find depicted the singular archaic figure under which *Diana Ephesia* was worshipped. This figure is not to be confounded with that of Diana the huntress, but is distinguished by her characteristic attributes as *nutrix* of all living things.<sup>26</sup> The “silver shrines” (*ναοὶ ἀργυροὶ*) made by Demetrius may have been in reality representations of the temple on the medals of which an example is here represented. So much was this goddess revered by the Greeks, that they made her a household divinity, as we learn from Pausanias, who says she was privately honoured more than any other.<sup>27</sup>

The engraving renders a minute description of the form under which Diana Ephesia was worshipped unnecessary. Whatever was its origin, the worship of this goddess may be referred to remote antiquity. According to Dionysius Periegetes her figure was originally set up under an elm tree:—

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<sup>26</sup> See the description of Hieronymus, cited by Eckhel. Doct. Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 512.

<sup>27</sup> Mess. lib. iv. c. xxxi. This shews why the “silver shrines” were so much in repute.



Παῤῥαλίην Ἐφεσὸν, μεγάλην πόλιν Ἰοχεαίρης  
 Ἐνθα θεῇ ποτὲ νήον Ἀμαζονίδες τετύχοντο  
 Πρέμνῳ ἔνι πετελής, περίωσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα.

v. 827—8—9.

Callimachus says the tree was a beech:—

Ἐν κότῃ παῤῥαλίῃ Ἐφέσου βρέτας ἰδρύσαντο,  
 Φηγῶ ὑπὸ πρέμνῳ. Hymn. in Dian. v. 238.

Both these accounts, however, clearly refer to a very primitive description of worship to which we find allusion in the Old Testament.<sup>28</sup>

The authors of antiquity are not agreed as to the order of the temple of Diana: Pliny<sup>29</sup> asserting that it was *Attic*, while Vitruvius<sup>30</sup> says it was *Ionic*. Again, the image of the goddess is said by Vitruvius<sup>31</sup> to have been formed of cedar, and Xenophon<sup>32</sup> describes it as of gold, discrepancies which may be reconciled by a reference to the description which Pausanias gives of many gilded statues.<sup>33</sup> The words of Pliny shew that there was some doubt as to the material of which it was formed; but whatever that may have been, the figure was never changed, though the temple was restored seven times.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>28</sup> "Ye shall utterly destroy all the places wherein the nations which ye shall possess served their gods, upon the high mountains and upon the hills, *and under every green tree.*" Deut. xii. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. xxxvi. c. xxiii.

<sup>30</sup> De Architect. lib. iii.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. lib. ii. c. ix.

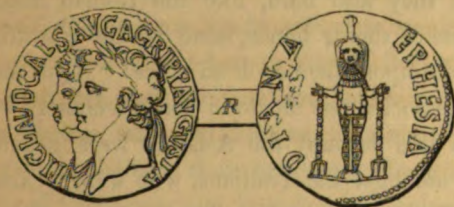
<sup>32</sup> De Exped. Cyri. lib. v.

<sup>33</sup> This author informs us that he saw at Corinth a statue of Diana Ephesia formed of wood, gilt, the face being painted red. Cor. lib. ii. c. 2.

<sup>34</sup> De ipso simulacro deæ ambigitur. Cæteri ex ebena esse tradunt. Mutianus ter Consul, ex his qui proxime viso ea scripsere *vitigeneum* et nunquam mutatum septies restituto templo. Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. c. xi.

It seems probable that the vulgar were not allowed to approach too near to this grotesque but time honoured figure; and that the artists of antiquity sometimes drew on their fancies in the representations of her; for even in the coins of Ephesus, the goddess is not always represented in precisely the same manner.<sup>35</sup> The idol was preserved from decay by resinous gums which were inserted in cavities made for that purpose.<sup>36</sup>

The best representation of this remarkable image appears to be that on a silver medallion bearing the heads of Claudius and Agrippina, which is the more curious as being nearly contemporary with the period of Saint Paul's visit to Ephesus. These pieces were doubtless in circulation throughout all Asia Minor, and could be obtained by devotees at the shrine of the Ephesian goddess.



*Obv.*—Tiberius CLAVDius CAESar AVGVstus AGRIPPina AVGVSTA. The heads of Claudius and Agrippina side by side.

*R.*—DIANA EPHESIA. The statue of Diana Ephesia.

<sup>35</sup> See the coins of Antoninus Pius and of Otacilia, engraved in illustration of a paper on the *Coins* of Ephesus, Num. Chron. vol. iv. art. xii. On the latter there is a small figure of a stag on each side the figure of the goddess, as on the silver medallions of Hadrian, struck, in all probability, on the same occasion as the above.

<sup>36</sup> Vitruvius, De Architect. lib. ii. c. ix. Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. xvi. c. xl.



The figure on the reverse of this example has a *vraisemblance* which we do not discover on the coins of a later reign. The form and style are decidedly archaic; and the arms project from the sides as though they did not originally constitute a part of the idol, but were the addenda of a later period. Pliny marvels that though so small it was not of one piece, a circumstance which indicates a very primitive style of art.<sup>37</sup>

§ 7.—“AND CERTAIN OF THE CHIEF OF ASIA.”

Acts xix. 31.

*Τινὲς δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀσιαρχῶν.* The Asiarchs, or “chief of Asia,” here mentioned, were not only the presidents of the public games and festivals held in the most celebrated cities of Asia, but they also bore, like the Roman *Ædiles*, the whole expense of them; hence, none but the wealthiest persons could take upon them such an office: “*hujus sacerdotii honos non mediocris, nec mediocri pecunia constat.*” Strabo says that on this account the Asiarchs were generally selected from amongst the Trallians, who were reckoned the wealthiest of the Asiatics.<sup>38</sup> They wore a rich official costume, and on their heads golden crowns. The engraving here given is from the reverse of a coin of *Hypæpa*, in Lydia, with the portrait of Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla. The type represents a military figure pouring the contents of a patera upon an altar, with the fire kindled, while Victory behind places a garland on his head. The legend is ΕΠΙ (Μ)ΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ Β. ΑCΙ.....CΤΡ. ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΩΝ—επι Μενανδρου Β. Ασιαρκου (και) ΣΤΡατηγου Υπαιπηνων—i.e. (Money)

<sup>37</sup> Hist. Nat. lib. xvi. c. xl.

<sup>38</sup> Lib. xiv.



*of the people of Hypæpa under Menander, for the second time<sup>39</sup>  
Asiarchus and Prætor.*



The mention of the friendship of the Asiarchs for Paul appears to add another to the numerous proofs of the contemporaneous character of these narratives; and it may truly be said with Duchal, as quoted by Paley,<sup>40</sup> "it doth not appear that it ever came into the mind of these writers, how this or the other action would appear to mankind, or what objections might be raised upon them. But without at all attending to this, they lay the facts before you, at no pains to think whether they would appear credible or not. If the reader will not believe their testimony, there is no help for it: they tell the truth and attend to nothing else. Surely this looks like sincerity, and that they published nothing to the world but what they believed themselves."

The foregoing remarks are especially applicable to the

<sup>39</sup> A coin of Antoninus, struck at Hypæpa, bears the name of Julius Menander, who may probably be the same personage, as the Asiarchs were not only allowed to hold their office a second time, as seen by the coin here represented, but were so styled in courtesy during the rest of their lives.

This coin, as well as that here engraved, was described by me in an article communicated to the Gentleman's Magazine for August, 1835.

<sup>40</sup> Evidences, Part II. chap. iii.

passage at the head of this section. That the very maintainers and presidents of the heathen sports and festivals of a people to whom the doctrine of Christ and the resurrection was foolishness were the friends of Paul, was an assertion which no fabricator of a forgery would have ventured upon. We cannot penetrate the veil which antiquity has thrown over these events, and are only left to conjecture, either that Christianity itself had supporters, though secret ones, who feared the multitude, in these wealthy Asiatics; or that, careless of the truth of what the apostle preached, they admired his eloquence, and wished to protect one whom they considered highly gifted.

§ 8.—“AND WHEN THE TOWN CLERK HAD APPEASED  
THE PEOPLE.”—Acts xix. 35.

The word *Γραμματεὺς*, rendered in our version of the New Testament “town clerk,”<sup>41</sup> is to be differently understood as it occurs in different places in Holy Writ. As in our days “lawyer” may be used in speaking of several kinds of legal functionaries, so the word *scribe* occurs in both the Old and New Testaments. In its general sense, and as used in the gospels, it doubtless signifies a lettered person; as may be inferred from its obvious derivation from *γράμματα*, *letters* or *book-learning*. When a scribe of a superior order is indicated there is generally some affix, as in the Septuagint (2 Kings xii. 10), where the king’s scribe, *ὁ γραμματεὺς τοῦ βασιλέως*, is described as the confidential officer of the Jewish monarch. The scribe here mentioned as appeasing the clamour of the Ephesian mob

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<sup>41</sup> Wiclif renders it “scribe:”—“and whanne the scribe hadde ceesid the puple.”



was a personage of great importance in the Greek and Asiatic cities. That the office was a most honourable one may be inferred from a coin of Nysa, in Caria, on which Tiberius Cæsar is styled scribe of that city.<sup>42</sup> The scribe was elected yearly, like the archon; and on the coins of Ephesus we find that the office was held several times by the same person. Thus, Cusinius the scribe, whose name is placed on the coin here represented, appears by the inscription to have been elected to that office four times. The obverse bears the heads of Drusus and Antonia, side by side; the reverse has the figure of a stag, and the legend, ΕΦΕ. ΚΟΥCΙΝΙΟC ΤΟ. Δ.; i. e. (Money) of the Ephesians, Cusinius, (scribe) for the fourth time.



That Cusinius was the scribe we learn from a coin of Livia, cited by Mionnet.<sup>43</sup> On the coins of Nero, the name of the Proconsul appears instead of that of the scribe.<sup>44</sup> But for this circumstance the *name* of the "town clerk," whose tact and promptitude dispersed the Ephesian mob, might probably have been known.

The stag is the common type of the autonomous coins of

<sup>42</sup> Frölich, *Quatuor Tentamina*, p. 154.

<sup>43</sup> From the *Cab. Cousinery*. Descrip. tom. iii. p. 93.

<sup>44</sup> See § 10. That of the scribe appears again under Domitian, on whose coins we find the name of *Cæcennius Pætus*. See Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus while under the Roman dominion, *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. IV. art. xii.



Ephesus; a fact noticed by the sophist Libanius,<sup>45</sup> and attested by numerous existing examples.

§ 9.—“THE CITY OF THE EPHESIANS IS A WORSHIPPER OF THE GREAT GODDESS DIANA.” Acts xix. 35.

The word rendered in our version of the New Testament “worshipper,” is, in the original, *νεωκορος*: a title derived from *νεως*, a temple, and *κωρεω*, to sweep, and such was its primitive signification; but in the course of time it became of the highest importance, and is found perpetually inscribed on the coins of several cities. The chief pride of the people of Ephesus was that they were the *neocori* of their goddess Diana; but in the days of their decline they added to this the especial guardianship of the temple of the emperor. On a coin of Caracalla we have the representation of four temples, three of them having figures of emperors, and the other containing the statue of the far-famed goddess: legend, ΕΦΕCΙΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΩΝ ΑCΙΑC Δ. ΝΕΩΚορων; <sup>46</sup> i. e. (Money) *of the Ephesians, the first of Asia, four times Neocori.*

This boasted epithet will be found on the coin of which an engraving is given in illustration of the following section.

§ 10.—“THE LAW IS OPEN, AND THERE ARE DEPUTIES.” Acts xix. 38.

Ἀγόραιοι ἄγονται καὶ ἈΝΘΡΩΠΑΤΟΙ εἰσιν. The words of the “town clerk” seem to indicate that the power of the scribe or *grammateus* was at this time considerably abridged.

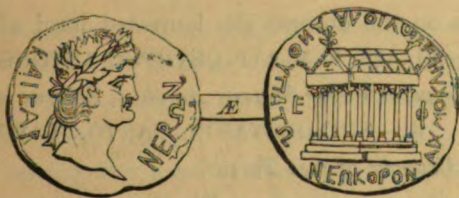
<sup>45</sup> Ἐφέσιους δὲ καὶ τὸ νομίσμα τὴν ἔλαφον ἔφερεν. Orat. xxxii.

<sup>46</sup> See Remarks on the Coins of Ephesus under the Roman dominion, Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. IV. art. xii.

It appears by the coin here engraved that the proconsular authority was fully established at Ephesus in the reign of Nero.

Of the office of scribe we have spoken in § 8. Æchmocles Aviola, the proconsul whose name appears on this coin, is supposed by Eckhel<sup>47</sup> to have held the consular office in the year of Rome 807. Aviola was a cognomen of the consular family Acilia. The Turones and Andecavi were defeated by Acilius Aviola in the reign of Tiberius.<sup>48</sup> The name of Aviola appears on coins of Smyrna and of Pergamos under Caligula.<sup>49</sup>

This coin bears on the obverse the head of Nero laureated; and the legend, ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΛΑΡ. The reverse, a representation of the temple of Diana; legend, ΕΦ. ΑΙΧΜΟΚΛΗ ΑΥΙΟΛΑ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ; i.e. (Money) of the Ephesians, Neocori, Æchmocles Aviola, Proconsul.



§ 11.—“BUT PAUL SAID, I AM A MAN WHICH AM A JEW OF TARSUS IN CILICIA, A CITIZEN OF NO MEAN CITY.”

Acts xxi. 39.

“AND PAUL SAID, BUT I WAS FREE BORN.”

Acts xxii. 28.

The coins of Tarsus abundantly testify that she was “no

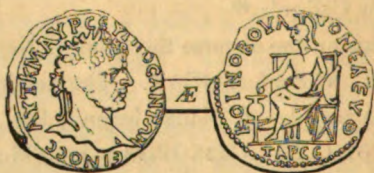
<sup>47</sup> Doct. Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 159.

<sup>48</sup> Tacitus, Ann. iii. c. 41.

<sup>49</sup> Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. vol. ii. p. 519.



mean city." Many bear the title of *Autonomous* and *Metropolis*.<sup>50</sup> A coin of Severus bears the legend, ΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΙΛΙΚΙΩΝ ΙΣΑΥΡΙΑ ΚΑΡΙΑ ΛΥΚΑΟΝΙΑ; i. e. (Money) of *Tarsus, Metropolis of Cilicia, Isauria, Caria, Lycaonia*. Another of Caracalla has, ΚΟΙΝΟC ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΩΝ ΕΠΑΡΧΙΩΝ; *The Community of the three Provinces*. A third mentions its site, on the river Cydnus: ΤΑΡΣΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΚΥΔΝ. But this coin of Caracalla illustrates the words of Saint Paul.



It bears on the obverse the laureated head of the emperor; legend, ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. CΕΥΗΡΟC ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC C.; i. e. *The Emperor Cæsar Marcus Aurelius, Severus Antoninus, Augustus*. R.—ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΕΛΕΥΘ. ΤΑΡΧΕΩC; i. e. *The Joint Councils of free Tarsus*.

Eckhel cites a passage from Dio Chrysostom praising the unanimity of the "three Estates;" i. e. the *Δημος*, the *Βουλη*, and the *Γερουσια*. He also remarks on the appropriateness of the type of Minerva, who appears to be casting into the urn the unanimous vote of the three councils.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The letters A. M. B. sometimes occur on the coins of Tarsus, and are rendered *prima sola Cilicia*.

<sup>51</sup> Doct. Num. Vet. vol. iii. p. 73.

§ 12.—“AND AFTER CERTAIN DAYS KING AGRIPPA AND BERNICE CAME UNTO CÆSAREA.” Acts xxv. 13.

The Agrippa here mentioned was the son of Agrippa Magnus. He was seventeen years old on the death of his father; and the emperor Claudius, deeming him too young for government, kept him at Rome, and sent Cuspius Fadus as procurator into Judæa, which for a time became again a Roman province. Upon the death of his uncle, Herod, king of Chalcis (A.D. 48), the little kingdom of that prince, with the privilege of superintending the temple and nominating the high priest, was given to Agrippa; and four years subsequently, he received in its stead the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and the title of king. Seven years afterwards, Nero gave him the cities of Tiberias and Taricheæ, in Galilee, and Julias, with several villages in Peræa.

This prince, notwithstanding the troubles which now began to afflict his ill-fated country, spent large sums in improving and beautifying Jerusalem, Berytus, and Cæsarea Panias (Cæsarea Philippi). Of the latter there is a coin extant, bearing the head of Nero: *reverse*, ΕΠΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕ. ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΑ ΝΕΡΩΝΙΕ,<sup>52</sup> within a laurel garland, confirming the account of Josephus, who says Herod enlarged and called the city Neronias, in honour of the emperor.<sup>53</sup>

There are other coins of Agrippa, bearing the heads of Titus, Vespasian, and Domitian; one of which is remarkable for the prænomen *Marcus*;<sup>54</sup> but the example here engraved

<sup>52</sup> Pellerin, *Med. de Rois*, p. 176; Eckhel, *D. N. V.*, vol. iii. 493.

<sup>53</sup> *Antiq. lib. xx. c. 9, § 8, 4.*

<sup>54</sup> Eckhel, *D. N. V.*, vol. iii. p. 494. Pellerin thinks this name was given to Agrippa, on account of his family being so much indebted to the Triumvir Antonius; Eckhel, however, is disposed to refer it to Marcus Agrippa.



is best adapted for our illustration. It bears on one side the *tabernaculum*, and the legend ΒΑCΙΑΕΩΣ ΑΤΡΙΠΗΙΑ. *Rev.* (the date detrited) three ears of corn bound together.

The learned have offered various solutions of this type: some supposing the ears of corn to be intended to represent the oblation of the first fruits; but Eckhel<sup>55</sup> inclines to the opinion, that it was chosen as less repugnant to the Jews than the ordinary representations on the money of this period. Be this as it may, this coin is more Judæan in character than the other money of Agrippa, and is formed on the model of the small brass pieces of Judæa *in genere*, given in the note on the tribute money.



§ 13.—“THEY DELIVERED PAUL AND CERTAIN OTHER PRISONERS UNTO ONE NAMED JULIUS, A CENTURION OF AUGUSTUS’ BAND.”—Acts xxvii. 1.

The Σπειρης Σεβαστῆς has been rendered by some commentators, “legio Augusta,” by others, “cohors Augusta,” assuming it to have been a cohort belonging to a legion then serving in Syria, and bearing the name of Augusta. Three legions, namely, the second, third, and eighth, bore this designation; but, from all we can learn from Dion Cassius, Tacitus, and other sources, none of them were ever in Syria or Judæa.

<sup>55</sup> Eckhel, D. N. V., vol. iii. p. 493.

The legions serving in Syria and Judæa about the time of Vespasian, were —

In Syria, Legio iii. Gallica.  
iv. Scythica.  
vi. Ferrata.  
xii. Fulminifera.

In Judæa, Legio v. Macedonica.  
x.  
xv. Apollinaris.

But we do not find either of the legions called "Augusta."<sup>56</sup>

In the note upon Acts x. 1, it is observed that the Romans levied many soldiers to recruit their forces in Syria and Judæa.<sup>57</sup> Among these levies two were pre-eminently distinguished: those from Cæsarea (*Καίσαρής*) and those from Samaria (*Σεβαστηνοί*).<sup>58</sup> Josephus mentions Cumanus, the predecessor of Felix, as taking with him a troop of these Sebastenoi — *ἀναλαβὼν τὴν τῶν Σεβαστηνῶν εἵλην*.<sup>59</sup>

We have seen, by the testimony afforded both by history and by coins, that no soldier of a "legio Augusta," or "cohors Augusta," could have been quartered in Syria or Judæa. It is, therefore, most probable that the *Σπείρα Σεβαστῆ* was a Samaritan corps in the Roman army; whether forming a part of a legion or not is immaterial. The *εἵλη Σεβαστηνῶν*, mentioned above, were horse; but we may fairly infer that among so numerous a body as the *Σεβαστῆνοί* there were foot as well as horse.

<sup>56</sup> Brotier in Tacit. iii. p. 480.

<sup>57</sup> Josephus, Ant. xix. 9, 2.

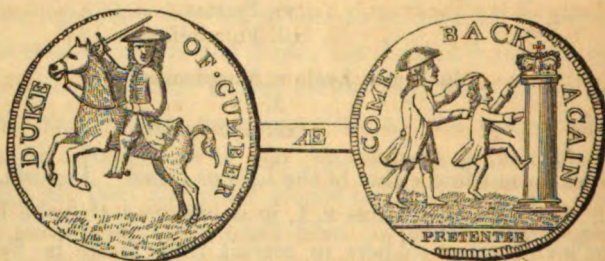
<sup>58</sup> For the name of Samaria being changed to Sebaste, by Herod, see Forbiger, Handbuch der Alt. Geogr. p. 696.

<sup>59</sup> Josephus, Ant. xx. 6, 1.



## III.

## MEDAL OF THE PRETENDER.



The very rare, and hitherto unpublished, Medal here represented, does not exist in the British Museum, and is not to be found in the best and most complete collections of medals relating to the Pretender's family. On the obverse is the Duke of Cumberland (Butcher Billy, as he was called by the Scotch Jacobites), on horseback: the reverse represents the Pretender attempting to reach a crown which is on the summit of a column, while the duke comes behind him and pierces him through with his sword, saying, "Come back again, *Pretenter*." This medal is of copper, of very coarse execution, made probably for "the mob," at a small cost. It is not, however, less valuable in an historical point of view, and may be considered as an evidence of the hatred in which the Stuart family and their adherents were held by the London populace. The present year being the centenary of the battle of Culloden, by which the Pretender's hopes were finally crushed, the medal may not inappropriately, at this time, occupy a corner in the Numismatic Chronicle.

B. NIGHTINGALE.

## NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

*An Essay on the Numismatic History of the Ancient Kingdom of the East Angles.* By D. H. Haigh. Leeds, 1845.

NOTWITHSTANDING the many illustrated works on the Anglo-Saxon coinage which have appeared within the last few years, it is perhaps the general opinion of collectors that some publication is still wanting, in which the materials given to the public may be re-arranged and concentrated.

Ruding and Hawkins together have furnished us with a very complete representation, or description of Anglo-Saxon types, up to the time when the last-mentioned work was published. But since that time, the very important *Cuerdale discovery* has been made, and many treasures have been produced from private cabinets, so that we are furnished with a variety of new types, and with their help are enabled to appropriate some old ones with greater certainty.

To embody in one work all existing materials, and to correct former mistakes and misappropriations, is the object of our author in the publication, the first fasciculus of which is now before us.

The task could scarcely have been taken up by more able hands. Mr. Haigh is well known to our readers as an able numismatic antiquary, well versed in the old chronicles, ingenious in his conjectures, and indefatigable in his search after materials. The present specimen of his work proves him to be also a minutely accurate draughtsman.

We are not sure that he has done wisely in first approaching that part of his subject which is involved in the greatest obscurity. Where there is much obscurity, it must be particularly difficult to make such conjectures as will meet with general acceptance, and so to commend one's-self and one's work to the public.

However, Mr. Haigh has boldly grappled with the difficulties of his subject, and, if his appropriations are approved, furnished us with what history fails to furnish us with, a tolerably complete succession of East-Anglian princes, from the cotemporary of Offa to the godson of Alfred, i. e. from 790 to 890; but whatever may be thought of his appropriations, we do not think it can be said that he has affixed to any single coin an improbable date.

The first on his list is the penny of Ethelbert, transferred from Kent, to which kingdom it has been usually given. Ethelbert, of Kent, died in 760, too early a date for this coin, if we suppose it to have been struck in imitation of the coins of Offa, which it



resembles in size and workmanship. It is not likely that Offa, if he was the first to strike pennies, struck them at such an early period; and it is more probable that he should find an imitator before 793, when Ethelbert of East Anglia died, than before 760. We agree with Mr. Haigh, in thinking this latter date an improbable one; but we observe that Sir Francis Palgrave has given to Kent another Ethelbert, to whom he has affixed the date of 770. The existence of this third Ethelbert, if considered certain, would, we think, much increase the difficulty of appropriating the piece in question.

After Ethelbert, Mr. Haigh supposes Eadvald to have reigned in East-Anglia about A. D. 800. Now, though we are prepared to remove his coins from their old position, which seems altogether unwarrantable, we are not so sure that they must be transferred to East-Anglia. We believe that there is nothing in the history or circumstances of the Kentish kingdom, at or about the close of Offa's reign, to render it impossible there should have been a king *there* of the name of Eadvald; and when we take into consideration the striking affinity of Kentish and Mercian types, some persons may think that this possibility is raised to a high probability. All, however, that we wish now to contend for, is the reasonableness of pausing previous to exchanging a wrong for a doubtful appropriation.

It is, we suppose, by this time generally admitted, that the coins next in order, those of Ethelstan, *with* as well as *without* the portrait, belong to a king of East-Anglia, who flourished about A. D. 825. We are now, for the first time, presented with the engraving of a unique type (pl. i. fig. 7), which is a *decisive* connecting link between the two sorts. Before the discovery of this type, the connection was strongly suspected by some antiquaries; but denied by others. We think that it is now incontestably proved. The coin itself, which affords this evidence, is one of the most valuable acquisitions made for the national museum at a recent important sale.

We have no fresh observations to offer on the coins of Beorhtric and Ethelward, which we suppose to be correctly attributed to East Anglia, though history does not mention their names. Mr. Haigh furnishes us with a new coin of Ethelward, of very rude workmanship, with a cross crosslet on the reverse. This type is a fresh connecting link between the portrait coins of Ethelstan and East-Anglia.

Oswald and Ethelred are both new appropriations. We do not feel sure, that at the period to which they are given, 870-878, we ought to look for any specimens of East-Anglian coinage. One of the coins attributed to Oswald is a fragment, in which the most important part is wanting: the other may be one of the

many blundered St. Eadmunds, and Ethelred may be the brother of Alfred.

On the whole, much as we admire the beautiful specimen of his work with which Mr. Haigh has favoured us, we should have admired it still more if he had abstained for the present from fixing the appropriation of Ethelbert, Eadvald, Oswald, and Ethelred.

It is not that we have any decided repugnance to his conjectures—they are not improbable; but there are others which to some minds will seem more probable, and we do not think every probable conjecture sufficient ground for an appropriation. Where there is so much room for hesitation, let us wait for further evidence; let us advance step by step upon something like certainties, then we shall not have any steps to retrace, and shall not embarrass a difficult subject with ungrounded assumptions.

We do not entirely agree with a rule which has been laid down, "not to remove a coin from a place where it has been long located, even if there are strong grounds to believe the location erroneous, until you have a sure domicile in which it may repose undisturbed;" at least we think it a rule which must have exceptions. For instance, Offa ought to occupy his right place at the commencement of the Mercian series. Eadvald's being placed there gives an erroneous impression as to the coinage of that kingdom. His coins are of a later date, and they are not Mercian; and though when removing them you know not where to put them, you know that they can never be restored to the place from which you have taken them.

What we very much wish is, that Mr. Haigh, or any one putting forth a new work on the Anglo-Saxon Coinage, would give us a *series apart* of such coins as cannot be appropriated with certainty; there let them rest till further evidence gives them a local habitation. Amongst these, we should place the *skeattæ* of Ethelbert I., the pennies of Ethelbert, Eadvald, Eanred, Oswald, Ethelred, and perhaps others; they are capable of chronological arrangement, though not of appropriation.

We hope it will not be thought, from anything that has been here said, that we are insensible to the merits of Mr. Haigh's work. We have to thank him for the first complete tabular view of the coins of East Anglia—for five plates, drawn with the minutest accuracy and delicately engraved—and for the first publication of several remarkable types: and our earnest hope is that all persons who are interested in this branch of numismatics, will give him their cordial support, and enable him to carry on his work to completion.



## MISCELLANEA.

The Society of Agriculture, Commerce, Science and Arts, of Calais, offer a prize gold medal of the value of 100 francs for the best description of the coins and medals struck at Calais, or relating to the history of that place.

A large number of washed small brass coins have been lately discovered in Somersetshire, near the Mendip Hills. We have not received any detailed account of the examination of these coins, but we are informed that there was nothing more valuable among them than a Carausius.







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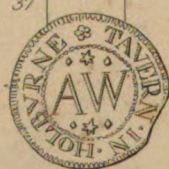
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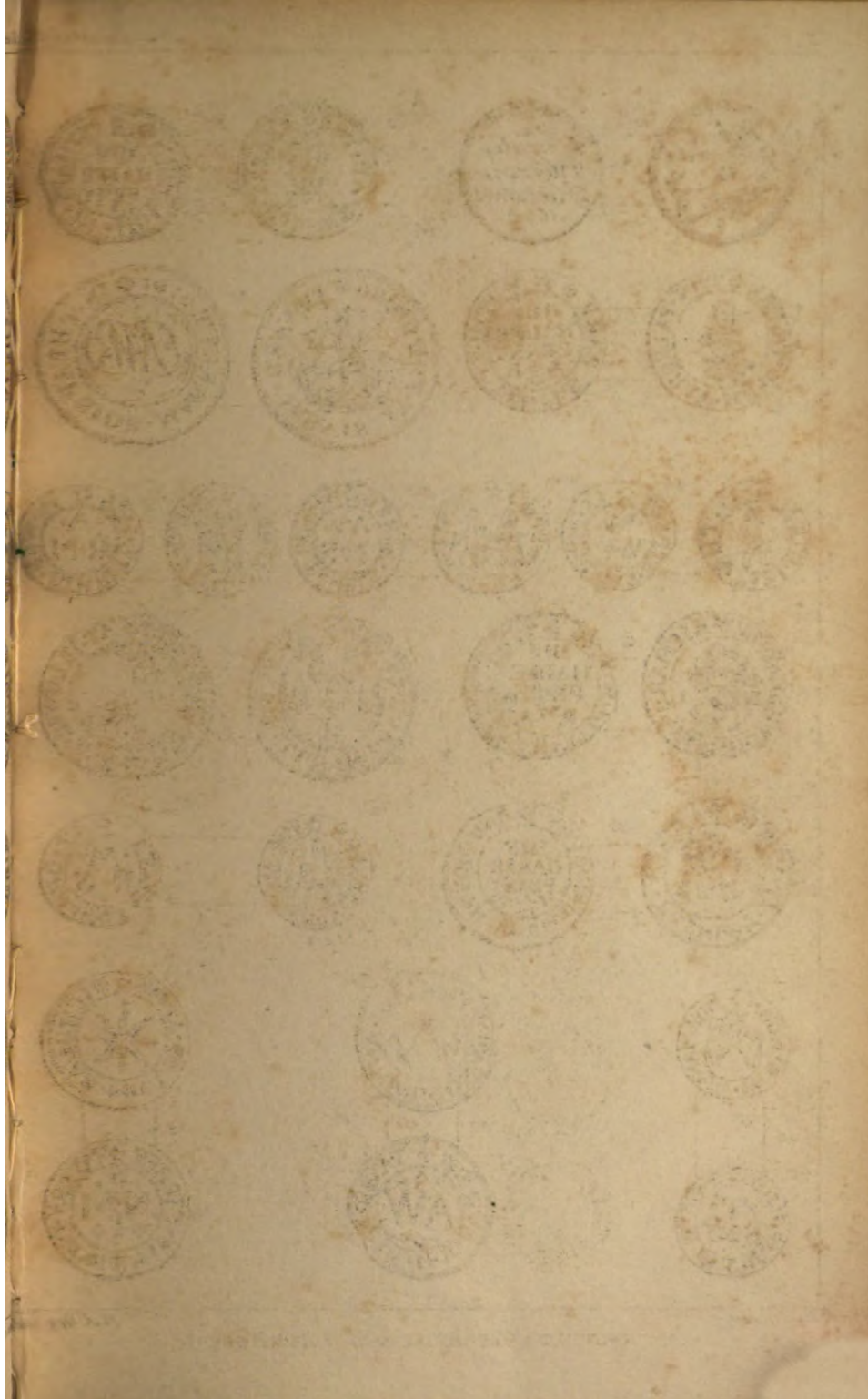
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B.N. pinail

LONDON COFFEE HOUSE AND TAVERN TOKENS.

H.A. Ogg. 1891

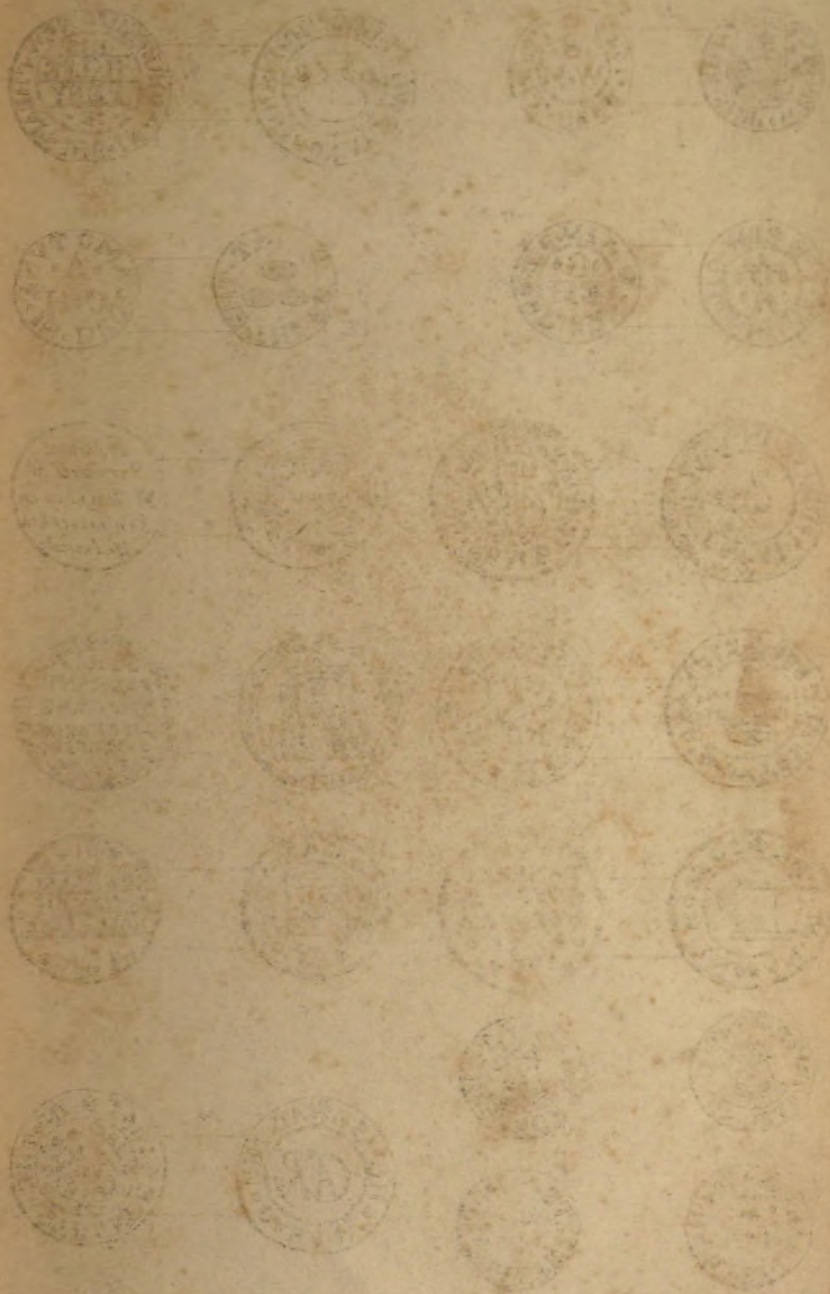






H. A. Ogg. sculp

LONDON COFFEE HOUSE AND TAVERN TOKENS.







LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, TAVERN AND TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

H.A. Ogg, sculp.

## IV.

EXAMPLES OF LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE AND  
TAVERN TOKENS.

WHEN we committed to the hands of our printers the list of tokens issued by Wiltshire tradesmen in the seventeenth century, we trusted that it would find favour among a few of the readers of the Numismatic Chronicle; but we had some misgivings as to its reception by our French friends. Our uneasiness on this head has, however, diminished; and a paper in a recent number of the *Revue Numismatique*, on the *Brummagem* satirical medalets struck in this country, in ridicule of Tom Paine and the Jacobins of his day, assures us that even such trifles as these are occasionally not unworthy the notice of the learned and practised Numismatist.<sup>1</sup>

The greater part of the tokens comprised in the following list, were issued by the keepers of coffee-houses and taverns,<sup>2</sup> and on that account, are not altogether destitute

<sup>1</sup> M. de Longpérier has not thought them beneath his notice, but in the following number of the *Revue*, instructs his countrymen in the *double entendre* of their equivocal legends and *bizarre* types.

<sup>2</sup> Few persons will require to be reminded, that every tradesman once had his particular sign, and that when the houses in streets were not numbered, such a practice was not without its use. A few shops and houses of business may yet be found in London, especially the old established ones, that have not entirely discarded their signs, and they may still be seen occupying the place of a pane in the window. One or two bankers, too, do not disdain to exhibit their ancient cognizance over the door. Messrs. Hoare display the golden bottle over the entrance of their elegant new house of business.



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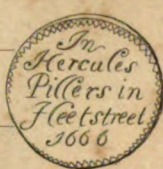
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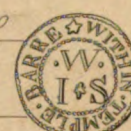
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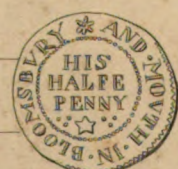
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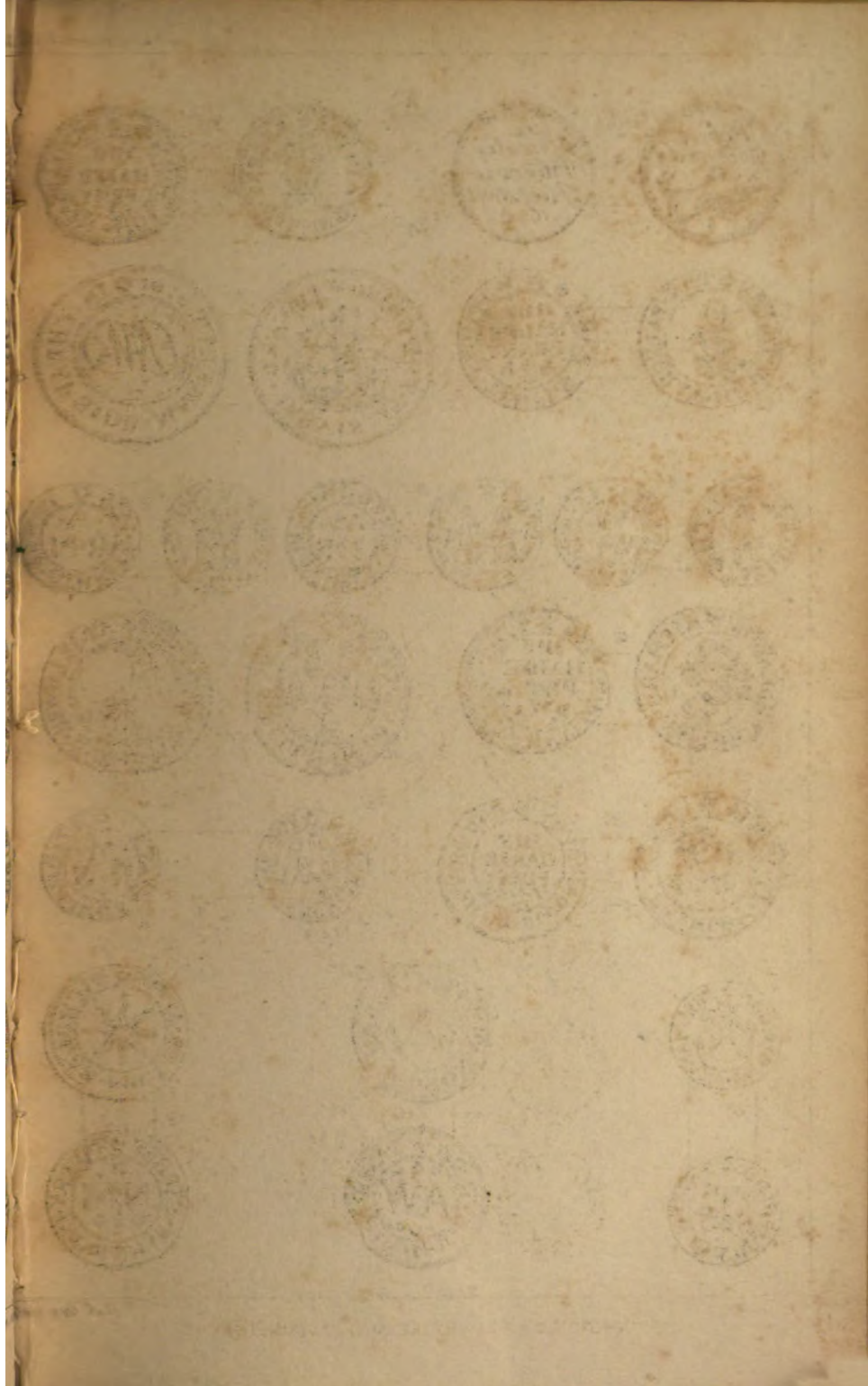
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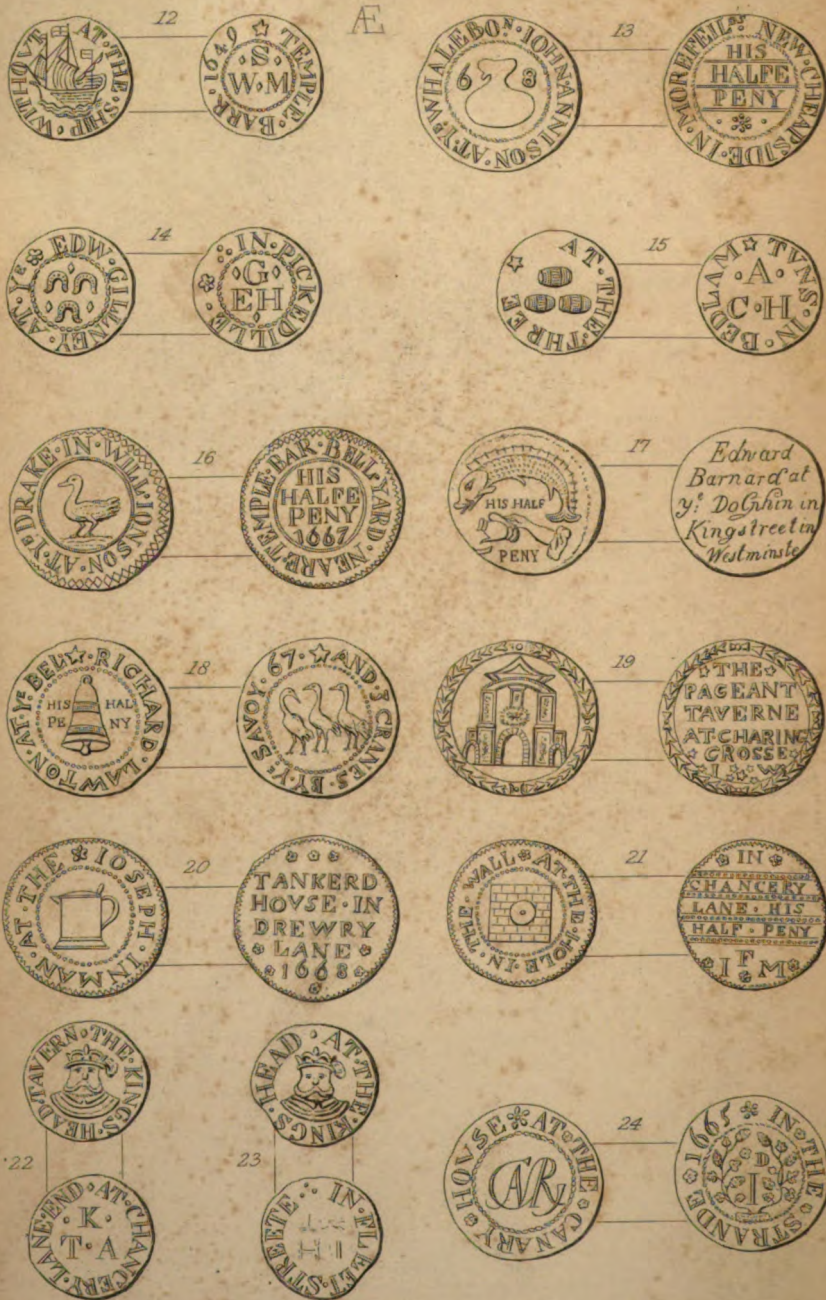
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LONDON COFFEE HOUSE AND TAVERN TOKENS.

H. A. Org. sculp.



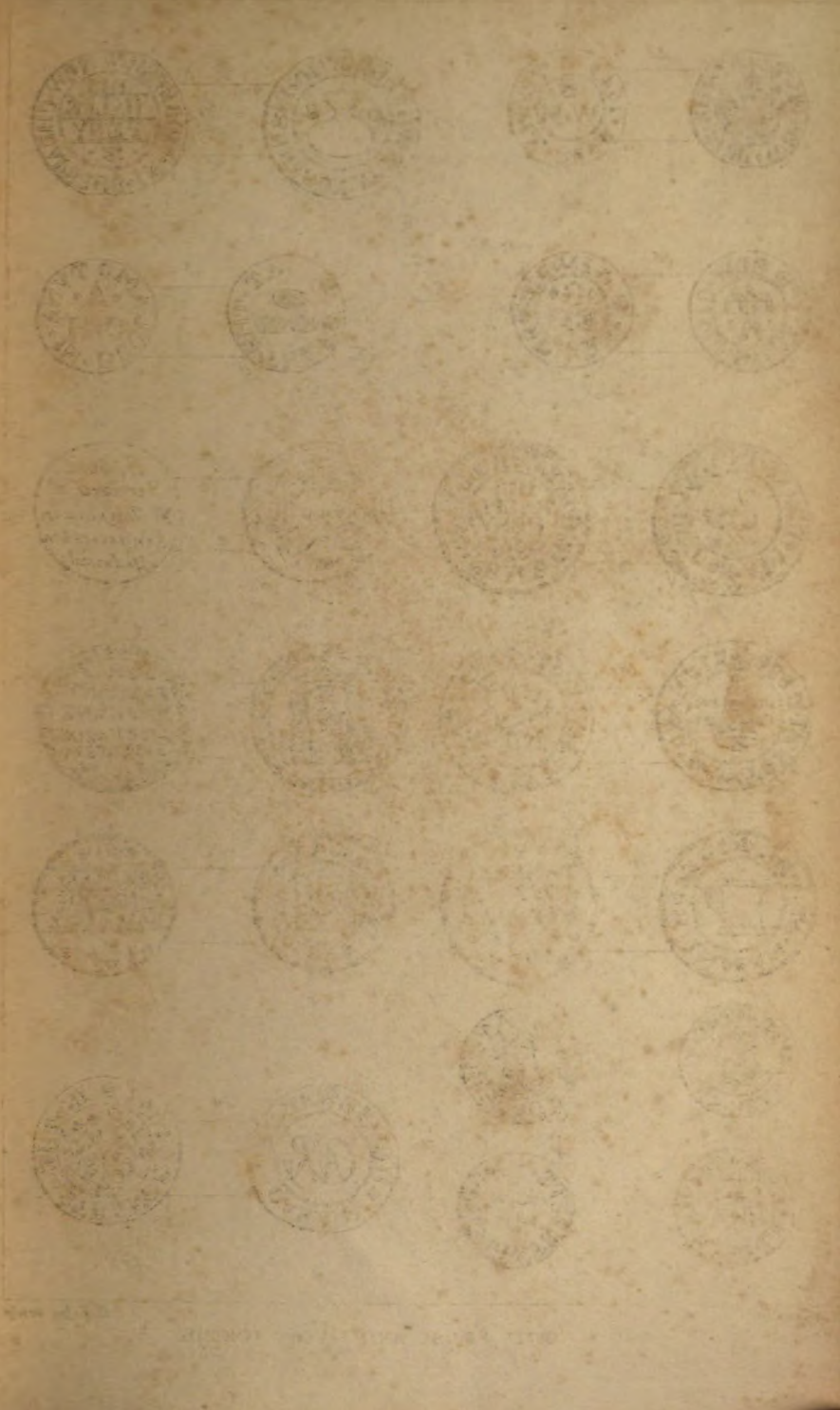




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of historical interest. Tavern signs change with the times : Harry the Eighth, Elizabeth, the Palgrave, Monk, and, in more modern days —

“ Vernon, the butcher Cumberland, Wolfe, Hawke,  
Prince Ferdinand, Granby, Burgoyne, Keppel, Howe,  
Evil and good, have had their tithe of talk,  
And filled their sign-posts then, like Wellesley now.”

A chapter of some length might be written on these changes, and the causes that led to them. There are other mutations, not affected by political events, which ale-house and tavern signs, and their designations, have undergone. Every body knows that “The Satyr and Bacchanals” became in due time “The Satyr and Bag o’ Nails,” and that the puritan “God encompasseth us,” was profaned to “the Goat and Compasses !” Nor is it necessary to remind the reader that it was proposed, with the addition of a few touches of the painter’s brush, to convert the goodly effigies of Sir Roger de Coverley into a Saracen’s Head !

Several of the tokens here described are of taverns in the vicinity of the Inns of Court and Temple Bar, the great thoroughfare from the city to the west end. This neighbourhood, though it has undergone many changes, still preserves some relics of its former state. Its taverns—snug enough when you reach them—at the ends of narrow courts; its quaint looking houses; Bell Yard and Shire Lane,<sup>3</sup> with their ancient tenements huddled together and

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<sup>3</sup> This, for a long time, was a horrible den. An attempt has been recently made, we believe, to purge it of its abominations. Shire Lane appears to have had an equivocal reputation in the 17th century. Here lodged that audacious villain, Titus Oates, while the town, and indeed all England, was ringing with accounts of pretended plots against the state.

cramped for room, all tend to convey an idea of what London was in old times.

The list which follows is a fair average sample of the *quasi* currency which provoked the scorn of Evelyn, and inundated the country in the middle of the 17th century, supplying "small change" to dealers and chapmen, until a legitimate coinage of farthings succeeded.<sup>4</sup>

1. *Obv.*—MORAT. Turk's head.

*R.*—THE COFFEE HOVSE IN EXCHANG ALLEY.

2. *Obv.*—THOMAS STROVD AT. A Turk's head: In the field, P.

*R.*—LVDGATE COFFEE HOVSE. A view of Ludgate.

3. *Obv.*—THE COFFEE HOVSE AT THE. A Turk's head.

*R.*—WEST END OF ST PAVL'S. In the field, a monogram composed of cyphers.

All these coffee-houses still exist. The first, is the well-known "Garraway's;" and has long been a celebrated mart for the sale of landed and other property. The other two have grown into extensive and respectable hotels, where many good things are dispensed, besides the decoction which gave the general name to these houses of resort. Coffee, it is well known, was introduced by the traders in the Levant; hence the adoption of the head of the reigning Sultan, Amurath the Third (popularly called Morad or Morat) as a sign. Snelling has engraved a coffee-house token, on which the Turk's head appears with the following distich:—

"Morat, the great man did mee call,  
Where'er I came I conquered all."

<sup>4</sup> Ruding, in his *Annals* under the year 1665, seems to doubt, that the farthings with CAROLVS A CAROLO were ever in circulation; but the fact that they are at this time very common, and that many are much worn, shows that they must have been current.



On the token No. 6, we have the head of Solyman.

4. *Obv.*—THE SVLTANESS A COFFEE HOVSE. Head to the left.

R.—IN SWEETING'S RENTS CORNHILL. A shield of arms.

Sweeting's Rents have fled for ever before the march of improvement. Our metropolitan readers will not require to be reminded that they bounded the east side of the old Exchange, and that Sweeting's Alley, leading to them, was generally crowded, during "'Change hours," with spectated elderly gentlemen peering at the caricatures, and country bumpkins wondering at various illustrations of the perpetual motion in the chronometer shops.

5. *Obv.*—NEAR THE EAST INDIA HOVS. A Turk's head.

R.—IN LEADEN HALL STREET. In the field, IOHNS HALF PENY.

John's coffee was for a number of years in high repute.

6. *Obv.*—SOLYMAN. A Turk's head,

R.—WARD'S COFFEE HOVSE IN BREAD STREET 1671, across the field in five lines.

7. *Obv.*—THO. OVTRIDGE AT CARTER. A table, on which are placed a cup and saucer, and a couple of short pipes: above, a hand holding a cup.

R.—LANE END NEAR CREED LANE. A Turk's head: in the field, P.

This token, like many others of the period, is of an octangular shape. The device of the obverse shews that the citizens took a pipe with their coffee after the oriental custom; but, instead of the long *tchibouk*, we have a couple of short pipes of the same character as those so often dug up in our London excavations, the shape of which is so well given in Teniers' smoking scenes.

8. *Obv.*—NEERE THE TOWER ROYALL. A Turk's head.

R.—THO. SCARLETT HIS COFFEE PENNY, across the field,  
in four lines.

Tower Royal is, as most of our readers are aware, a small street leading from the end of Budge Row to Cloak Lane. The neighbourhood must have greatly changed since that day. A coffee-house of any repute, could not exist there now. The same may be said of the localities of Nos. 6 and 7, which, at the time of the currency of those pieces, were doubtless more busy thoroughfares.

9. *Obv.*—I. D. IN SHEPE YARD HIS HALF PENY, in four lines  
across the field.

R.—WITHOVT TEMPLE BAR. A ship in full sail.

10. *Obv.*—NAT. CHILD NEAR Y<sup>E</sup> MAY POAL. A boar's head  
pierced with three arrows.

R.—IN Y<sup>E</sup> STRAND GROCER HIS  $\frac{1}{2}$  A chequered square.

The May Pole, in the Strand, stood where the New Church now stands, and nearly opposite Somerset House. It was taken down in the year 1718.

11. *Obv.*—AT THE SARASONS HEAD. A head bearded, and  
laureated, full faced.

R.—IN WESTMINSTER GROCER. In the field, I.M.B.

The Saracen's head is probably a sign as old as the time of the Crusades; and the grim portrait in vogue at this day, appears by the token to have been traditionally handed down. The reader will not forget the story related in the "Spectator," of Sir Roger de Coverley and the Saracen's head.

12. *Obv.*—AT THE SHIP WITHOVT. A ship in full sail.

R.—TEMPLE BAR 1649. In the field, W.M.S.

Faithorne, the engraver, who died in 1691, lived at the sign of the Ship, next to the Drake, opposite the Palgrave's Head tavern, without Temple Bar, where he not



only followed his art, but sold Italian, Dutch, and English prints.—*Walpole*.

13. *Obv.*—JOHN ANNISON AT Y<sup>E</sup> WHALE BO<sup>N</sup>. In the field, the scapula of a whale, between the letters 68 (1668).

R.—NEW CHEAPSIDE IN MOREFEILDS. In the field, HIS HALF PENY, in three lines.

The “Whalebone” was a celebrated place in the reign of Charles the Second.

14. *Obv.*—EDW. GILNEY AT Y<sup>E</sup>. In the field, three horse shoes, and three diamonds.

R.—IN PICKEDILLE. In the field, E. H. G. between three diamonds.

15. *Obv.*—AT THE THREE. In the field, three barrels or tuns.

R.—TUNS IN BEDLAM. In the field, C. H. A.

From the type of the three tuns, the arms of the Vintner's Company, we may infer, that this was the token of a tavern within the precincts of Old Bedlam.

16. *Obv.*—WILL. IONSON AT Y<sup>E</sup> DRAKE. In the field, a drake.

R.—BELL YARD NEARE TEMPLE BAR. In the field, HIS HALF PENY 1667.

“The Drake,” stood next to “The Ship.” See No. 9. It was doubtless a rebus, and alluded to the admiral, who was very popular in the reign of Elizabeth, the mint-mark of the martlett on her coins being termed by the vulgar a drake. The situation of this sign near the Ship was appropriate enough.

17. *Obv.*—Edward Barnard at y<sup>e</sup> Dolphin in King street in Westminster.

R.—HIS HALF PENY. A dolphin; below, an arm holding a coffee-pot over a saucer or basin.

18. RICHARD LAWTON AT Y<sup>E</sup> BEL. In the field, a large bell, and the words HIS HAL PENY.

R.—AND 3 CRANES BY Y<sup>E</sup> SAVOY. 67. In the field, three cranes.

This sign is clearly indicated by the three birds; but "3 Cranes Wharf," near St. Paul's, is so named from the three machines with which goods are "craned" into ware-houses, etc.

19. *Obv.*—A triumphal arch, with three gates within a garland.

*R.*—THE PAGEANT TAVERNE AT CHARING CROSSE; I. W. within a garland.

There was the "Triumph Tavern" at Charing Cross, which may have been the same establishment.

20. *Obv.*—JOSEPH INMAN AT THE. In the field, a tankard.

*R.*—TANKERD HOVSE IN DREWRY LANE, 1668, in five lines across the field.

21. *Obv.*—AT THE HOLE IN THE WALL. A wall, with a circular hole in it.

*R.*—IN CHANCERY LANE HIS HALF PENY. I. M. F. in five lines, within compartments, across the field.

"The Hole in the Wall" still exists in Chancery Lane. It was a popular sign, and several taverns bore the same designation, which probably originated in a certain tavern being situated in some umbrageous recess in the old city walls. Many of the most popular and most frequented taverns of the present day, are located in twilight courts and alleys, into which Phœbus peeps at Midsummer tide only when on the meridian. Such localities may have been selected on more than one account: they not only afforded good skulking "holes" for those who loved drinking better than work; but beer and other liquors keep better in the shade. These haunts, like Lady Mary's farm, were—

"In summer shady, and in winter warm."

Rawlins, the engraver of the fine and much coveted Oxford Crown, with a view of the city under the horse, dates a quaint supplicatory letter to John Evelyn, "from the Hole



in the Wall, in St. Martins,"<sup>5</sup> no misnomer, we will be sworn, in that aggregation of debt and dissipation, when debtors were cabined, cribbed, confined, with a very remote chance of redemption. In the days of Rye-House and Meal-Tub plots, philanthropy overlooked such little matters; and small debts bills were not dreamt of in the philosophy of speculative legislators. Among other places, which bore the designation of the Hole in the Wall, there was one in Chandos Street, in which the famous Duval, the highwayman, was apprehended after an attack on—two bottles of wine,<sup>6</sup> probably drugged by a "friend" or mistress.

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<sup>5</sup> Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. III., p. 123.

<sup>6</sup> We have before us a small tract of the time, which professes to give an account of this fellow, half serious, half bantering, half condemnatory, half apologetical; but we confess, that we can see nothing to justify his exaltation by the gentlemen of the Newgate School of Romance. We, however, must wonder at nothing, when a man of real genius condescends to make the cold-blooded, cruel, and calculating Eugene Aram, the hero of his romance, and to represent him in *love*!! The only thing that can be said in favour of highwaymen is, that they were rarely *murderers*, and never murderers in cold blood. What a change has taken place in society, long since these tokens were current in London, ay, even within the last fifty years. Sir Richard Birnie, the well-known police magistrate, once remarked, in a tone which seemed almost to indicate that he deplored what might be deemed the decay of national spirit, that he "had not heard of a *mounted* highwayman for thirty years!" In the days of George the Second, people were brought to a stand by highwaymen as they crossed Covent Garden in their chairs; and the parks, and suburbs of London after dark, were left to the desperate of both sexes. Now-a-days, a child might walk from Tyburn to Mile-End at midnight without fear! Still, if we take the aggregate of swindling, "hocussing," and petty larceny, with a number of other mean and dastardly vices in our own generation, and place them against the burglaries and highway robberies in the days of our grandfathers, the present race will have little to boast of.

22. *Obv.*—THE KING'S HEAD TAVERN. The bust of Henry the Eighth.

R.—AT CHANCERY LANE END. In the field, T. A. K.

In the reign of Charles the Second, the Earl of Shaftesbury was president of the *Green Ribbon Club*, which held their meetings here, and were supposed to be the principal promoters of the "Pope-burning tumults." Roger North says, "their seat was in a sort of *carfour*, at Chancery Lane End."

23. *Obv.*—AT THE KING'S HEAD. The bust of Henry the Eighth.

R.—IN FLEET STREETE. Letters detrited.

The bust on this token resembles that on No. 22; and though rudely executed, conveys no bad idea of the portraiture of the English Herod. A friend observes, that for two centuries "the King's Head" meant Henry the Eighth, and the sign of "the Queen's Head" Queen Elizabeth.

24. *Obv.*—AT THE CANARY HOVSE. In the field, *canary*, in a monogram of cyphers.

R.—IN THE STRANDE 1655. In the field, 1<sup>p</sup> in the centre of two flowers, rising from a base.

25. *Obv.*—ROBERT COLE AT THE. A cannoneer about to give fire to a piece of ordnance. *His*  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

R.—In *Hercules Pillers*, in *Fleet Street*, 1666.

Stow gives us a glimpse of the locality in which this sign figured—"Hercules Pillers Alley, on the south side of Fleet-street, near Saint Dunstan's Church" (*View of London*, 8vo. 1708, p. 38). Strype says,—"*Hercules Pillars Alley*, but narrow, and altogether inhabited by such as keep public-houses for entertainment, for which it is of note" (p. 277).



26. *Obv.*—ROBERT HOLMES AT THE. The Prince of Wales' feathers.

R.—FETHARS IN HOLBORN. In the field, HIS HALF PENY.

The Feathers tavern still exists on the north side of Holborn.

27. *Obv.*—THE PALGRAV HEAD TAVERN. The half-length portrait of the Palgrave, with baton in hand, the head uncovered.

R.—WITHOVT TEMPLE BARR. In the field, HER HALFE PENNY. D. B.

This famous tavern stood a short distance westward of Temple Bar, on the site of the present Palgrave Place. The period of the adoption of the sign may be judged, by the fact of the Palgrave being the husband of Elizabeth, daughter of James the First, the celebrated queen of Bohemia.

28. *Obv.*—EDWARD IARVIS AT THE GEORG. St. George, on horseback, piercing the dragon.

R.—IN CHEAPSIDE MARKETT. A monogram, in cyphers, of the issuer's name.

Does "Cheapside Markett" mean Honey Lane Market?

29. *Obv.*—AT THE TARLETON. The figure of Tarleton, to the left.

R.—IN WHEELERS STREET. In the field, W. F. W.

Dick Tarleton, the famous clown and actor, was contemporary with Shakespeare. He was the author of a dramatic performance called "The Seven Deadly Sins." He died in 1589. Wheeler's Street was situated in Southwark. The effigy on this token is doubtless a copy of that represented on the sign of the house. He holds in his hand a short stick, with which he beat the tabor.

30. *Obv.*—AT THE D. AND DVNSTANS. The representation of the saint standing at his anvil, and pulling the nose of the "D." with his pincers.

R.—WITHIN TEMPLE BARRE. In the field, I. S. W.

This was the celebrated Devil tavern, so much frequented by Ben Jonson and his friends. Mark the propriety which restricts the name of his infernal highness to the bare initial!—"the D. and DVNSTAN." Was Boniface's wife a puritan, and forbade any irreverent mention of the devil on her husband's tokens? Or was he, too, like mine host o' the Salutation (see No. 35), unwilling to give offence to the sectarians who visited his house? The initials, in the field, of the reverse, seem to indicate that one of the Wadloe family still kept the tavern. Simon Wadloe was mine host in the days of Ben Jonson, who dubbed him "king of skinkers." The popular legend is well expressed on this rare, and perhaps unique token. The fiend is seized by the nose by the saint, while engaged at the anvil after the wont of the early ecclesiastics, who were carefully admonished, by the Anglo-Saxon laws, to betake themselves to some handicraft, and thereby eschew idleness. On a visit to the remains of Mayfield palace, in Sussex, a few years since, the reputed scene of the encounter, we were shown "the same 'dential pinchers" with which the resolute saint performed his feat.<sup>7</sup> They were large enough for the snout of leviathan. Observe, St. Dunstan works in his mitre, and not in a paper-cap; and the enemy of mankind has the usual attributes with which the painters of the middle ages invested him. Having placed a triple crown on the head of the Deity, they next materialised the devil, and adorned him with the characteristics of a satyr.

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<sup>7</sup> In the hall of the Goldsmith's company is the picture of Saint Dunstan pulling the nose of the devil, while the heavenly host above look on and applaud the deed. "It appears by this," says Pennant, "that Saint Dunstan amused himself in works of gold, as well as iron; so that it is no wonder to see the evil spirit in a place where the *irritamenta malorum* so much abound."



The rambler in London will look in vain for the Devil Tavern beneath the shade of Temple Bar. The house, with a modern front, is now the banking house of Messrs. Child,<sup>8</sup> who have preserved the *Leges Conviviales* in the Apollo Room where Ben Jonson and his friends held their orgies. Sack and ale no longer flow here, and if any thing "short" is dispensed, it is the shortest change of a check!

31. *Obv.*—THE CASTELL TAVERN. A castle gate.

R.—IN WOD STREETE 1656. In the field, R. M. A.

Whether choice wits or dull phlegmatic citizens assembled here we know not; all we can ascertain is, that the Castle tavern in Wood-street still exists. The usually redundant *e* in *street*, and the word *wood* spelt with one *o*, stand in singular contrast with each other.

32. *Obv.*—RICHARD WASHBOVRNE AT THE. Bust of the Duke of Albemarle, between the letters D. A.

R.—TILT YARD SVTLER 1660. In the field, HIS HALFE PENNY R. A. W.

Old Maps of London and Westminster shew that the Tilt Yard was in the immediate vicinity of St. James's Palace. The origin of its designation is obvious.

The date of this token is the year of the restoration of Charles the Second; and the head of Monk is appropriate enough.<sup>9</sup>

33. *Obv.*—AT Y<sup>E</sup> 6 BELLS IN DOVE COVRT. In the field, six bells.

R.—AT Y<sup>E</sup> LOWER END LVMBARD STREET. A dove standing, with an olive branch in its beak.

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<sup>8</sup> Oliver Cromwell kept cash at this house, and his account is said to be still preserved by Messrs. Childs.

<sup>9</sup> The date of this token, struck after the arrival of Charles, and those of several others in this list, show that their issue was by no means confined to "the days of late anarchy and confusion," as Evelyn leaves us to infer.

This tavern, as well as Dove Court itself, has been swept away by the improved approaches to new London Bridge.

34. *Obv.*—ANDREW PASHLEY AT Y<sup>E</sup> BVLL A bull, and a rude representation of a human mouth.

R.—AND MOVTH IN BLOOMSBVRY. In the field, HIS HALFE PENNY.

This house still exists in Hart-street, Bloomsbury. There were others; and a famous inn of the same name remains in St. Martin's-le-Grand. It is scarcely necessary to add, that this is one of the many corruptions of the names of signs in London, and that the proper name was *Boulogne Mouth*,<sup>10</sup> or the mouth of Boulogne Harbour. The town having been taken by Henry the Eighth, greatly elated the English at the time, and led to the adoption of the sign.

35. *Obv.*—THE SALVTATION TAVERN. Two figures, in the costume of the period, saluting each other.

R.—AT BILLINGSGATE. In the field, R. S. M.

We suspect the obverse type of this token to be as palpable a perversion as that of the preceding one; and that the original sign really represented the salutation of the Virgin by the angel—"AVE MARIA, GRACIA PLENA,"—a well-known legend on the jettons of the middle ages. The change of representation was probably accommodated to the times. The taverns at that period were the "gossiping shops" of the neighbourhood; and both puritan and church-

<sup>10</sup> The license which our notice of these tokens gives, affords us the opportunity of remarking, that in our boyish days we heard of strange wilful perversions of the names of well-known inns and public-houses: thus, in metropolitan *slang*, the "Elephant and Castle" was the *Pig and Tinder-Box*; the "Bear and Ragged Staff" the *Angel and Flute*; and the "Pig in the Pound," the *Gentleman in Trouble*!



man frequented them for the sake of hearing the news, which in the days when morning and evening newspapers were not published, brought many together, like the Athenians of old, "to hear some new thing." The puritans loved the good things of this world, and relished a cup of Canary, or Noll's nose lied, holding the maxim—

"Though the devil trepan  
The Adamical man,  
The saint stands uninfected."

Hence, perhaps, the salutation of the Virgin was exchanged for the "booin' and scrapin'" scene represented on this token. This tavern, which still exists, was celebrated in the days of Queen Elizabeth. In some old black letter doggerel, entitled, "News from Bartholemew Fayre," it is thus mentioned:—

"There hath been great sale and utterance of wine,  
Besides beere, and ale, and Ipocras fine;  
In every country, region, and nation,  
But chiefly in Billingsgate, at the *Salutation*."

36. *Obv.*—THE MAN IN THE MOON. The figure of a half naked man standing within a crescent moon, and holding by the horns.

R.—TAVERN IN CHEAPSIDE. In the field, s. s. t.

We have seen the subject most quaintly treated on village sign-boards; but "the Man in the Moon" is here not inelegantly represented, however preposterous the idea.

37. *Obv.*—ALLAN WILSON AT Y<sup>E</sup> FLEC<sup>R</sup>. A fleece, suspended by the middle.

R.—TAVERN IN HOLBVRNE. In the field, A. w.

38. *Obv.*—NICHOLAS MILLER AT THE. In the field, a star of eight waving points.

R.—TAVERN IN COLEMAN STREET. In the field, N. M., and  $\frac{1}{2}$ .

"This token of the Star," says a friend, "reminds me of a *jeu d'esprit* which I met with in my school-boy days. A

citizen of London being a passenger in a coasting-vessel, overtaken, when at a distance from land, by a violent storm, instead of assisting to lighten the ship, or lending any aid whatever, sat wringing his hands, and crying out,

“O that I could see two stars,  
Or only one of the two!”

His incessant repetition of these words attracted the notice of the captain, who abused him for a lubber, and asked what he meant by his constant cry of: —

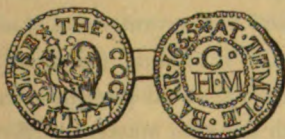
“O that I could see two stars,  
Or only one of the two.”

His answer is thus recorded: —

“I mean,” said he, “where our club did meet,  
But shall never meet again;  
Either the *Star in Coleman-street*,  
Or the *Star in Pudding Lane*!”

39. *Obv.*—THE COCK ALE HOVSE. A Cock.

R.—AT TEMPLE BARR. 1655. In the field, H. M. C.



Few of our London readers can be in a state so benighted, as to be ignorant of the situation of this venerable house of entertainment. Strangers will find it a few doors east of Temple Bar, near Bell Yard, by *its sign*, which, carved in wood, and gilded like a weathercock, stands, and doubtless has stood for a couple of centuries over the door. Perhaps this quaintly carved figure was snatched from the threatened dwelling by some civic Eneas, when “the greete and dreadfull fier” was laying old London in ashes; and, after a time, again mounted as a beacon to way-worn and famished men. Or does it date only from the rebuilding of the city?



Some metropolitan Dryasdust will perhaps give us its history. The "Cock" is now famous not only for its chops and steaks, but also for its brown stout, that beverage, with its "aromatic bitter," which Dr. Carus evidently preferred to the *Braunbier* of his own father-land, when he visited England lately with his majesty the king of Saxony.<sup>11</sup> The house is much frequented by lawyers and law-students. We will be sworn that many of our judges in their youthful days have taken their chop here; and that in earlier times Ben Jonson and honest Izaak Walton have drunk their morning-draught (the latter, whose house of business was only a door or two off, tells us he took nothing more for breakfast) at the Cock ale-house. The above cut is from a specimen in the possession of the present landlord.

During the raging of the great plague, the following announcement was made by the master of the Cock tavern:—"This is to notify, that the master of the Cock and Bottle, commonly called the Cock ale-house, at Temple Bar, hath dismissed his servants, and shut up his house for this long vacation,<sup>12</sup> intending (God willing) to return at Michaelmas next, so that all persons whatsoever who have any accompts with the said master, *or farthings belonging to the said house*, are desired to repair thither before the eighth of this instant July, and they shall receive satisfaction."

The foregoing, with the exception of No. 39, are in the collections of Mr. B. Nightingale and Mr. W. Hawkins.

<sup>11</sup> See the doctor's recently published journal, *passim*. We are acquainted with a French numismatist, whose eye this may meet, who loved English *stout* as much as Dr. Carus, greatly preferring it to the brandied ports and sherries of this country. Alfred Tennyson assures us, that the port dispensed here is inspiring. See his "Will Waterproof's Lyrical Monologue."

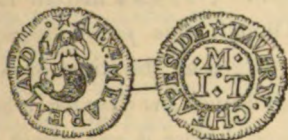
<sup>12</sup> This shows that, even at that time, the house was frequented by limbs of the law.

The plates are engraved from drawings executed and kindly placed at our disposal by the former.

Last, though not least, are two tokens of renowned London Taverns, politely communicated by Mr. G. Daniel—the *Mermayd* and the *Boar's head*.

40. *Obv.*—AT Y<sup>E</sup> MEAREMAYD. A Mermaid, with her accustomed attributes.

R.—TAVERN CHEAPSIDE. In the field, I. T. M.



The topography of ancient London is not always well made out; and the mention of the Mermaid in *Cheapside* would leave us in some doubt as to whether it is the famed Mermaid of Ben Jonson of "the Mermayd in Chepe," were not the ordinary appellation of the tavern in those palmy days. There were many taverns with this sign; but we can hardly suppose that there was a Mermaid. Cheapside, and another—the celebrated one—hard by, in Friday Street. We can only reconcile this by the conjecture that there was a back entrance to the Mermaid in Friday Street from Cheapside. Many taverns in this neighbourhood are to be found at the ends of courts running out of the great thoroughfare. If our token, as doubtless it is, be really of the tavern which Jonson and his friends haunted, it was of no less repute than "The Devil" in Fleet Street, being the resort of the wits and poets of the day.

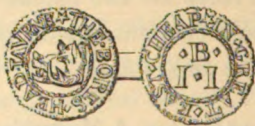
VOL. IX.

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41. *Obv.*—THE BORES HEAD TAVERN. A Boar's head.

*R.*—GREAT EASTCHEAP. In the field, I. I. B.



What a host of associations crowd upon us as we examine this pledge for better coin. The Boar's Head in Great Eastcheap! We hear Falstaff's snore behind the arras, Prince Hal's "Anon!", Pistol's fustian rant, and Mistress Doll's abuse. Though this *pseudo moneta* dates from a later period, the tavern at the time of its issue had not been greatly changed since the days when Shakspeare wrote. But Eastcheap, long before it was swept away by the improved approaches to London Bridge, had nothing in its appearance to attract the antiquary—the "great fire" had destroyed every ancient dwelling, every vestige of the picturesque, in that quarter. The boar's head, carved in stone, and the work of a later day, was fixed in the wall of the modern house which stood on the site of the ancient tavern, and was occupied by a gunsmith at the time of its demolition.

J. Y. A.

## V.

### ON THE COINS CALLED "CISTOPHORI."

(*Resumed from the last Number, page 16.*)

THE letters found on the cistophori of Ephesus are not like those on the Pergamean cistophori, the initials of ma-

gistrates' names. Eckhel thinks that they are numeral letters signifying dates; but to what era they belong is unknown; conjecture is all that is left us on this point.

The coins of Ephesus just described, bear numeral letters running from two to seventy. Eckhel mentions two others bearing the letters ΟΣ(seventy-seven), ΗΕ(eighty-five). He adds, that the money of the cities of Ionia does not ordinarily bear dates; but that the cistophori, being an extraordinary coin, might allow of a departure from the common practice.

We confine ourselves to this note, which may promote research on the subject.

The symbols which accompany the principal types, relate to the worship of the local deities; among others, the head and figure of Diana. The cornucopiæ, the ears of corn and the torch, belong to Ceres who was associated with Bacchus in the mysteries. The other types may indicate the towns associated with Ephesus, for which cistophori were struck in that metropolis, as we shall see below.

## LYDIA.

### SARDIS.

79.—Cista, serpent, wreath.

R.—ΣΑΡ; quiver and serpents; above, the monogram No. 14, composed of the letters ΑΠΗΡ, and surmounted by a Β; to the right, a thyrsus surrounded by a serpent. AR. 8.

80.—The same.

R.—ΣΑΡ; above the quiver, the monogram No. 15; to the right, a full length figure holding a patera. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 631.



81.—The same.

R.—CAP; to the right, on the field, a serpent escaping from a cista (?) AR. 8.

Mionnet, 630 (He thinks this to be a cast).

The lunar sigma (C), would indicate a more modern date, as we have already seen at Pergamos, No. 15.

### TRALLES.

82.—Cista, serpent and wreath.

R.—TPAA; quiver and serpents; thunderbolt. AR. 8.

83.—The same.

R.—On the field to the right, a helmet over a thunderbolt. AR.  $7\frac{1}{2}$ .

84.—The same.

R.—Id., a poppy-head (?) AR. 8.

Mionnet, 1022.

85.—The same.

R.—Id., a two handled jar or Diota. AR. 8.

86.—The same.

R.—Id., a warrior fighting. AR. 8.

87.—The same.

R.—Id., a Brahmin ox over the sign of the river Meander.<sup>23</sup> AR. 8.

88.—The same.

R.—Id., a hoofed Brahmin ox. AR. 7.

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<sup>23</sup> The association of the Brahmin ox, a common symbol of Lydia, with the Meander, which is found on several coins of Phrygia, is another proof of the union of these countries for the coinage of cistophori.

89.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, ΑΠΟΑ; to the right, an eagle.  
AR. 8.

90.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, a monogram composed of the letters  
TPAA; above the quiver, APTE; to the right, a  
casqued head turned to the right. AR. 8.

Mionnet, Suppl., 649.

91.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, ΔΙΟΝ; to the right, a club.  
AR. 8.

92.—The same.

R.—Above the quiver, ΜΕΝΑ. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 1023.

93.—The same.

R.—TPAA; above, Δ; above the quiver, ΙΙΤΟΑ; to  
the right, a full-length figure of Bacchus crowned,  
holding in the right hand the thyrsus, and in the  
left a bearded mask (Mionnet took it for a Diana  
Lucifera.) AR. 6.

Mionnet, 1029.

94.—The same.

R.—ΙΙΤΟΑ; above, Ε. AR. 6.

95.—The same.

R.—ΙΙΤΟΑ; Bacchus crowned, holding in the right hand  
the thyrsus, and in the left a vase. AR. 7.

96.—The same.

R.—ΙΙΤΟΑ; above, Η. AR. 6.

Mionnet, 1025.

97.—The same.

R.—Id., above the quiver, ΤΙΜΕ; to the right, Juno  
Pronuba. AR. 7.

Panel, p. 17. Mionnet, 1026.

98.—A similar one. AR. 8.



99.—The same.

R.—TPA; above the quiver, PVLCHER PROCOS;<sup>24</sup>  
to the right, a hand holding a laurel-branch;  
below, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 1028.

Vide Eckhel, Sylloga Prima, p. 49, pl. v. No. 7.

100.—The same.

R.—Above, the Brahmin ox; tripod surmounted by  
an eagle, and surrounded by two entwined serpents;  
above, PAMPI. T. F. PROCOS;<sup>25</sup> beneath, ΔΙΟ-  
ΓΕΝΗΣ; to the right, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΠΑ. Inedited.  
AR. 7.

## PHRYGIA.

### APAMEA.

101.—Cista, serpent, wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

R.—ΑΠΑ; above the quiver, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 187.

102.—The same.

R.—ΑΠΑ.; above the quiver, ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ ΤΙΜΩ; to the  
right, two flutes. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 188.

103.—The same.

R.—Id., above the quiver, ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥ. AR. 7.

104.—The same.

R.—Id., above the quiver, ΣΩΚΡΑΤΟΥ. AR. 7.

105.—The same.

R.—The quiver and serpents; above, C. FABI. M. F.

<sup>24</sup> We have before found the proconsul Pulcher at Ephesus.

<sup>25</sup> Pampilus or Pamphilus was a surname of the Bæbia family.  
M. Bæbius Pampilus, son of Creius and nephew of Quintus,  
was consul in 573 A.V.C. The one mentioned on our coin, the  
son of Titus, was a descendant of Bæbius.

PROCOS; beneath the quiver, ΑΤΤΑΛΟ... Ν ...  
Inedited. AR. 6.

106.—The same.

R.—ΑΠΑ; a tetrastyle temple of orbicular shape, surmounted by a full length female figure, holding in her left hand a javelin, and in her right, a patera; round the temple two entwined serpents, and the double flute; above, C. FAN. PONT. PR; beneath, ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΟΣ ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΟΥ.<sup>26</sup> AR. 8.

Mionnet, 189.

107.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ; quiver, serpents, and double flute; above, ΛΕΝΤΥΛΥΣ ΙΜΠΕΡΑΤΟΡ;<sup>27</sup> beneath, ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ. ΒΙΑΝΟΡΟΣ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 190.

108.—The same.

R.—ΠΑ; quiver, serpent and double flute; above, ΛΕΝΤΥΛΥΣ ΙΜΠΕΡΑΤΟΡ; beneath, ΜΥΣΚΟΥ. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 191.

109.—The same.

R.—ΑΠΑ; quiver, serpents, and double flute; above, Μ. ΚΙΚΕΡΟ ΠΡΟΚΟΣ;<sup>28</sup> beneath, ΘΕΟΠΡΟΠΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ. Inedited. AR. 8.

110.—The same. Above the quiver, ΡΥΛΧΕΡ ΙΜΠ.; on the field to the right, ΑΡ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 192.

<sup>26</sup> We here see the commencement of a change in the type. It is to be remarked, as we have before said, that this took place after the Roman conquest. Fannius was pontifex in 697 A.V.C. and prætor in 699 A.V.C.

<sup>27</sup> Lentulus was already consul in Cilicia in 697 A.V.C., as several letters to him from Cicero establish.

<sup>28</sup> Cicero bears here only the title of proconsul; on a cistophorus of Laodicea below, No. 121, he has that of Imperator.



## LAODICEA.

111.—Cista, serpent, wreath.

R.—ΛΑΟ ; to the right of the quiver, a dog, surmounting the figure of a female head, turned towards the right. AR. 7.

112.—Cista, serpent, wreath of ivy and vine leaves.

R.—ΛΑΟ ; quiver and entwined serpents ; above, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ ΕΥΑΡΚΟΥ ; to the right, a winged caduceus. AR. 7.

Mionnet, 672.

113.—The same. R.—ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ; winged caduceus. AR. 6½.

Mionnet, 669.

114.—The same. R.—ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΔΡΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥ ; id.

AR. 8. Mionnet, 670.

115.—The same. R.—ΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ. Id. AR. 7½.

116.—The same. R.—ΖΕΥΞΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΜΥΝΤΟΥ. Id. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 671.

117.—The same. R.—ΛΑΟ ; above the quiver, LENTVLVS. P. F. IMP.;<sup>29</sup> to the right, a winged caduceus ; below, ΑΡΤΕΜΙΑΔΡΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 674.

118.—A similar specimen. AR. 8.

119.—The same. R.—ΛΑΟ ; two serpents surrounding a quiver ; above, PVLCHER PROCOS ; to the

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<sup>29</sup> The name of Lentulus is also found on the cistophori of Apamea.

right, AI; winged caduceus; beneath, ΑΠΟΛΛΩ-  
ΝΙΟΣ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥ ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ. AR. 8.

Panel, p. 52. Mionnet, 675.

120.—The same. R.—ΑΑΟ. Μ. TVLL...IMP.;<sup>30</sup> beneath  
the quiver, ΔΑΒΑΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ. AR. 8.

Mionnet, 676.

To complete the series of cistophori, we ought to mention those struck in Asia for Marc Antony, who, following the example of Mithridates, took the title of Bacchus. After having conquered Brutus, he made his entry into Ephesus with a procession of men, women and children, clothed as bacchantes and satyrs, crowned with ivy and bearing thyrsi. Plutarch relates an account of these Bacchanalia,<sup>31</sup> in which Marc Antony was honoured as a second Bacchus. Antony repeated this folly till he came to the city of Alexandria, into which he made the same kind of entry, as Velleius Paterculus relates.<sup>32</sup>

Antony's cistophori struck in Asia were probably coined at Ephesus, which added to the others this superior mark of adulation.

121.—M. ANTONIVS IMP. COS. DESIG. ITER. ET.  
TERT; heads of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, or  
Octavia, side by side.

R.—III. VIR. R. P. C.; Bacchus on the cista, between  
two serpents. AR. 7.

<sup>30</sup> M. Tullius Cicero succeeded Pulcher as proconsul of Cilicia in 703 A. v. c. With regard to the title of Imperator, the following is what he himself states, "Ita victoria justa imperator appellatus apud Issum quo in loco sæpe ut ex te audiui Clitarchus tibi narravit Darium ab Alexandro esse superatum" (Ad Famil. lib. ii. ep. 10). "Thus named emperor after the victory near Issus in the same place, where, as I have often heard you say, Clitarchus relates that Alexander vanquished Darius."

<sup>31</sup> In Anton. p. 926.

<sup>32</sup> Liv. ii. ch. 82.



122.—The same. R.—III. VIR. R. P. C.; the head of Cleopatra or Octavia on the cista, between two serpents. AR. 7.

Eckhel has not pronounced on the doubt entertained by many numismatists, some of whom have attributed the female head to Octavia, and others to Cleopatra. However, he thinks that the latter would have been figured with a crowned head, if it were really meant for her.

It was in 720 A.V.C. that Antony united the finest provinces of Asia and Africa to his other conquests; and the coinage of Cleopatra could not be associated with his own till the year 722, when peace was broken between the triumviri. He was named consul for the third time, in 720. The woman's head on the cista may therefore be that of Octavia; and the diademed head joined to his, that of Cleopatra (Vide Eckhel. *Doct. Num.* tom. iv. p. 66, et seq.).

We do not intend to speak in this article of other coins bearing the cista<sup>33</sup> not belonging to the series of those especially named cistophori.

I think that several important cities of Asia of which we do not possess cistophori, nevertheless coined them, or else contributed their quota of bullion to those cities which were solely charged with the coinage of this kind of money.

This is proved by the symbols joined to the principal types on the coins, as their legends specify.

The union of these cities is established by these symbols, which appear as types on their coins.

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<sup>33</sup> These coins struck in Roman Macedonia, at Cassiope in Epirus, Amisus in Pontus, Dios and Nicæa in Bithynia, and Sidon in Phœnicia. Vaillant speaks of others at Pergamos, Cybira, Anchialus and Sardes, struck under Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, J. Mameæ, Geta and Gordianus.

The torch found on the cistophori of Atarneia and Ephesus is a frequent type of Cyzicus, an important city, of which, however, we do not possess cistophori.

On the cistophori of Parium, the owl may also call to mind the types of Sigæum in the Troas and Synnada in Phrygia; and the tripod, Cyzicus in Mysia and Smyrna in Ionia.

The cistophorus of Pergamos, No. 27, has for its symbol a lion's skin on a club; and that of Dardanus, No. 54, a bunch of grapes. These two objects are found together on a medal of Tralles, in the Hedervar Museum newly purchased for the cabinet of France and which is described beneath:—

*Obv.*—A lion's skin on a club, enclosed within a crown of laurel.<sup>34</sup>

*R.*—TPA; a bunch of grapes with leaves; on the field to the left, a woman bearing a cornucopia. AR. 6.

Mionnet, Suppl. No. 658.

The bunch of grapes is also found on a brass coin of the same city (Mionnet, No. 36).

Another cistophorus of Pergamos bears for its symbol a victory which is also found on those of Ephesus. This type is also that of Philomelium, a city to which we have seen that a cistophorus which I have restored to Pergamos, was erroneously attributed (No. 49).

*Obv.*—A bust of a winged Victory, bearing a palm branch on her shoulder.

*R.*—ΦΙΛΟΜΗΛΑ. ΣΚΥΘ; two cornucopiæ united;] in

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<sup>34</sup> The same type is also found on the reverse of the last Mithridates, king of the Bosphorus (Vide Mionnet, tom. ii. p. 370)



the midst, a thunderbolt; above, a star within a crescent. AR. 6.

Mionnet, No. 887.

Medusa's head on No. 12, is evidently similar to that found on the coins of Rhodes, Abydos and Parium, representing the Gorgon with a hideous expression of countenance.

Ephesus, the principal city of Ionia, which furnishes us with a large number of cistophori, undoubtedly struck them for several cities the types of which are found among the symbols accompanying the quiver and serpents.

Such are the victory and the two cornucopiæ of Philomelium, the tripod of Cyzicus and Smyrna, the pilaster Priapus of Lampsacus, the staff of Esculapius of Cos, the thunder bolt of Tralles.

As to the bust of Diana and the figure of that goddess, they are the peculiar types of Ephesus.

Bacchus is a figure so frequently found on the coins of Asia, that we can hardly attribute it to one city more than another; but if, as I think, his head is at the same time crowned with ivy and rays, it is a type of the island of Rhodes, the coins of which represent him thus:—

On the coins Nos. 94, 96, Bacchus is seen crowned with rays and ivy, and holding in his left hand a bearded mask.

The representation of Bacchus as holding a mask, undoubtedly relates to the theatrical games of which this God was the protector, and which made part of the feasts celebrated to his honour.

A few specimens of antiquity have similar designs. I will mention two in the cabinet of Coins and Antiques in France.

1. A very fine silver patera representing in high relief on the bottom a winged genius supporting itself by the left hand on a lyre and holding in the right hand a scenic mask; near him, an altar. It is the genius of comedy, and one of the attendants of Bacchus (Vide Memoire sur la Collection des Vases Antiques trouvés en 1830, à Berthouville, par Aug. La Prévost, 1832, page 20).

2. A very pretty terra-cotta in relief, given by Madame Récamier to the cabinet of coins. This little remnant of antiquity was found at Athens. It represents Bacchus himself, seated on the steps of a theatre and holding in the left hand a scenic mask; height 9 centimetres, 5 millimetres.

Juno Pronuba belongs to Apamea in Phrygia, and particularly to Lydia, where she is represented on the coins of Dios Hieron, Hypaepa, Julia Gordus and Mæonia. It is probably to represent these cities, that it is placed on the cistophori of Tralles, Sardes, and Apamea, which also bear this type, having themselves coined cistophori.

Tralles of Lydia, of which we possess numerous cistophori, presents a great variety of symbols: the thunderbolt, which is found on the coins of Cratia in Bithynia (Sestini, Mus. Hed. 44, Nos. 1 and 2); the Brahmin or hunch-backed ox on those of Antioch in Caria, Aradus in Phœnicia, Ephesus, and on those of Magnesia in Ionia; and the same hoofed ox which we find on the coins of Magnesia.

We remarked at No. 88, that this ox was placed on the Mæander, a river which is represented on the coins of the same cities, and also on those of Apamea and Dionysopolis in Phrygia, of Priene in Ionia, and of Tripolis in Caria.

The eagle of Dia in Bithynia, of Cumæ in Æolia, and of



Abydos in the Troas, most probably represents this last city, of which it is the principal type.

The warrior fighting on No. 87, seems to me to represent Hector, and to designate Ilium, which often placed this Trojan hero on its coins.

Laodicea, amongst its symbols, presents to us a dog; in which we recognise the Molossian dog of Colophon in Ionia.

The caduceus may point out to us Cyzicus; but it also belongs to Atarneus, as the following coin proves.

*Obv.*—Anterior part of a horse, to the right; monogram No. 20, composed of the letters ATAP; above, a folded serpent.

R.—ΑΣΙΝΙΟΥ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΥ ΠΟΜΑΙΩΝ; caduceus.

AR. 5. Mionnet, Suppl. No. 688.

The name of Asinius, a Roman pro-consul, is found on the coins of Sardis and Lydia, struck for Drusus the younger and Germanicus. Drusus the younger died in 776 A. V. C. or 22 A. D. The type of Atarneus being of that date may be of use in fixing that of this cistophorus.

We observe that on the cistophori of Laodicea, the caduceus is winged and terminates in an arrow-head.

We think the following cities may be placed in the number of those, for which cistophori were struck in those towns of which a large number are extant bearing their symbols.

PHŒNICIA—Aradus.

BITHYNIA—Cratia.

MYSIA—Cyzicus, Lampsacus.

TROAS—Abydos, Sigæum.

IONIA—Colophon, Magnesia, Priene.

CARIA—Antioch, Tripolis and the islands of Cos and Rhodes.

LYDIA—Dion Hieron, Hypæpa, Julia-Gordus, Mæonia.

PHRYGIA—Apamea, Dionysopolis, Philomelium and Synnada.

There yet remain un-attributed, the vase on No. 86, belonging to Tralles, the thunderbolt surmounted by a helmet on No. 84, and the Persea on No. 70, belonging to Ephesus, but these figures are not found on any of the coins of Asia.

*H. P. Borsell Ann Chron VIII. p. 13.  
adds Cistophori of Thyatira  
and Smyrna*

## VI.

### ON THE COINS OF THE PATÁN SULTANS OF HINDUSTAN.

THE history of Mohammedan nations is for many reasons peculiarly suitable for numismatic illustration; not so much in reference to the artistic value of the coins themselves, as from the fact of their usually recording in full the name of the king, the date, and the place of coinage: thus affording direct evidence to three distinct points,—the existence of the sovereign as such, the time in which he reigned, and the place of which he was king.

The value of this species of illustration, as applied to Indian history, is much enhanced by the consideration of the oriental feeling, that the power of coinage was held to be a proof of the attainment of kingly dignity. In the West, we require many forms to make a king, but the Eastern Mohammedan races seem to have held the striking of the



currency, aided by an immediate recitation of public prayers in the names of the princes they had elected, as proof positive of sovereignty. Thus we find the first act of an Eastern reign was invariably the production of a coin; without this, an all-powerful despot hardly felt himself a king.

The medals of Eastern kings, unlike the money of European nations, were really the coins of the sovereign whose name they recorded; they were less the money of the country than a part of the wealth of the king himself. The despotism which enabled the ruler to alter at will the currency of his country, identifies the money itself most intimately with the monarch who issued it; hence, from these metallic records, we can often trace, not only historical facts, but even the workings of men's minds; at least the results of their vices or virtues are frequently to be detected in the silent testimonies they have left behind them. As an instance, the history of few reigns offers so many numismatic illustrations as that of Mohammed bin Tuglak. Amid the endless variety, and at times perfection of execution, of his medals, we discover a register of all the phases of his rule—his early wealth and profusion, his subsequent poverty, and his despotic endeavour to meet it: the one witnessed in the quantity and full weight of his first coinage; succeeded, on the other hand, by the currency of debased metal, ending in the issue of copper tokens which he attempted to pass in lieu of silver. Next we note his forced return to honesty and its consequent effect upon his money; the religious scruples which overtook him in 743 A.H. are also evidenced in his coins, when, after having, in imitation of his predecessors, barely recognised the existence of a Khalif, he is suddenly alarmed by doubts as to his own right to the throne of Hindustan, unsupported as it

was by the sanction of a Commander of the faithful. Then, not satisfied with acknowledging the spiritual supremacy of a Khalif whose name was scarcely known, he at once (entirely rejecting his own titles) stamps his currency with the name of Al Mustakfí billah (the then Khalif of Egypt). The medals of subsequent years indicate the recognition of his title to the throne of Delhí by Al Abbás Ahmed the successor of Al Mustakfí.

The period which our series of medals illustrates, extends from A.D. 1192 to 1554, three centuries and a half. During this time, five dynasties, numbering in all forty kings, succeeded each other on the throne of Delhí. We are fortunate in this period, following the exact point of Indian history where Professor H. H. Wilson closes his labors in his *Ariana Antiqua*, he having, somewhat *per saltum* indeed, brought down Indian numismatics from the time of Alexander the Great to the commencement of the Patán rule in Hindustan.

In the weight and device of the gold and silver coins of the early Patán kings, but little variation is to be observed from the commencement of the series until the reign of Mohammed bin Tuglak the nineteenth sovereign on our list. The gold coins up to this last date, judging from specimens of the mintage of Balban and Mohammed Sháh were usually denominated *سکه Sicca*, a die (a coin), a word probably used only in the generic sense. The greatest weight of the above pieces, is 172 grains; but we have a Ghiás ed dín Tuglak as high as 173 grains. The silver coins were termed *القصص Al-fazzat*, the silver (coin), and at times merely *Sicca*. The weight of these ranges up to 173 grains. For both these classes of medals, allowing for wear, we may fairly assume a mint issue of 174 grains. A curious description of coin now brings itself to



our notice, being a sort of medium currency between copper and silver, composed, indeed, of a mixture of these two metals. However objectionable this intermediate coinage may appear in theory, there are many advantages to be conceded to it in practice. In a poor country where great subdivision of the currency was found necessary, it was a manifest convenience to convert so small a mite of silver, as  $\frac{1}{16}$  of a Dirhem (10·8 grains) into something tangible, at the same time a pure copper representative of this sum would have been bulky and unmanageable. Under any circumstances some proof of the advantage of this admixture of metals, is to be found in the fact of its having continued in use upwards of four centuries and a half, dating from Anungpál of Lahore, A.D. 1000, with whom this species of coin seems to have originated, through the early Delhi imitators of the Kábúl coinage to the time of Behlole Lodí, A.D. 1450.

These coins, like those of gold and silver of the same kinds, underwent but little change from the accession of Mohammed bin Sâm, to the time of Mohammed bin Tuglak. They average, as will be seen from the weights affixed to each engraved specimen, from 52 to 56 grains: of this, the native refiners calculate from 10 to 11 grains to be silver.

The simple copper coins usually weigh 55 grains up to the reign of Balban, whose copper pieces, and those of his successors, rise as high as 66 and 67 grains.

Mubárik Sháh adopted the square form for many of his coins, without, however, varying the weights or values.

Mohammed bin Tuglak, shortly after his accession, in addition to debasing the coinage in every possible way, and attempting to pass copper tokens in lieu of silver money, seems to have altered the whole system of the currency in

a most unaccountable manner. On the one hand, we find his early gold coins of the year 726, A.H. (denominated Dínars), brought up to the weight of 200 grains, whereas his silver coins of the same type, are let down from the old standard of 174 grains, to 140 odd. His debased thick silver Dirhems of the years 727, 28, 29, and 30, average, even in nearly perfect specimens, only 138 grains. His small silver Quarter-Dirhems, again, appear to have remained unaltered, at least in point of weight; while his brass and copper money, on the other hand, displays an endless variety of shape, weight and device. Fírúz III. reverted to the old standard for his gold coinage, though the types and inscriptions vary considerably. His debased silver, or silver and copper coins, whichever we may take them to be, seem to have been imitated from the thick silver money of Mohammed bin Tuglak, and to have been continued by Fírúz and his successors, but little changed, either in weight or purity of metal, down to Behlole Lodí, the thirty-third sultan on our list. We have specimens of the pure silver coinage of Mohammed bin Fírúz and Máhmúd bin Mohammed, evincing, in their worn state, a probable original mint-weight of the old 174 grains. It is remarkable, considering the manifold coins of other metals of the fifteen kings who followed Mohammed bin Tuglak, that are now extant, how very few silver medals of these princes have as yet come to light. The copper coinage of the period intervening between the reigns of Mohammed bin Tuglak, and Shír Sháh, does not offer any change worthy of remark. This last sovereign entirely remodelled the coinage of his dominions: his silver money, now for the first time denominated rupee, is stated by Jas. Prinsep to have weighed  $11\frac{1}{4}$  *mashás* of 15.5 grains, i.e. 174.4 grains. This weight is, however, easily proved to be too little, as Marsden has already published rupees of this king rising from 177 to 178



grains. The coins also of Shír's immediate successors, Islám and Ádil, generally weigh more than the 174 grains. Under these circumstances, and allowing for wear and oxidation, we shall be justified in rating the weight of these rupees, at the time of issue, at 180 grains. Shír Sháh's larger copper coinage runs as high as 316 grains; and the smaller pieces average 150 and 40 grains respectively.

The series, it will be seen, is very complete, being wanting in the coins of four kings only out of the forty. The absence or non-existence of the money of these monarchs is perhaps easily accounted for, and will be noticed at large in its proper place.

By far the major part of this collection is as yet unpublished, and, with a view to avoid the imperfection which omissions would cause, some few coins which have already appeared have been re-produced: but in nearly every case the engravings have been taken from originals other than those hitherto made public. Closing this brief introductory notice, it is proposed at once to proceed to describe the medals themselves, prefixing to the whole a full list of the Sultáns and their dates; introducing subsequently in detail a transcript and translation of the Persian inscription to be found on the coins of each succeeding monarch, preceded by a short note of the most prominent occurrences of the reign.

## MISCELLANEA.

Upwards of two thousand of the hoard of Northumbrian Stycas discovered a few years since in York, have recently come to light and have been brought before the Archæological Association, by whom, through the medium of Mr. Cuff, we understand, particulars will be laid before the Numismatic Society, at an early meeting.

Between seventy and eighty denarii were lately discovered in excavations made in Well-street, Jewin-street, City. They are of Galba, Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Sabina, Antoninus Pius and Faustina, in good preservation. There are no particularly rare types; but the coins would be valuable as a *nucleus* for a collection in the Museum which, it is asserted, is to be formed in the Guildhall.

Two Cufic coins were recently picked up on the sea-side at Eastbourne, Sussex, and are now in the possession of Mr. Harvey of Lewes. One has been examined by Professor Wilson, who observes:—"The margins are so much worn that nothing can be decyphered; but the inscription on both areas is clear enough, and leaves no doubt that it is the same as No. VIII. Marsden, a dinar of Hesham ben abd-al Malek the eleventh Omiya Khalif of the house of Omar, who reigned A.D. 724-743. On the one side we have,

'*Lā āllāh ila allāh wahid lā sharik la hoo.*' "There is no God but God the only one, without an equal."

And on the other,—

'*Allāh āhad allah samēd la yāldā lam youladoo;*' "God is one and eternal, neither begetting nor begotten."

These legends were of course levelled against the Christians. The latter is considered as peculiar to the Omiya Khalifs. It is curious that so early a Mohammedan coin should be found in England;\* but commerce or the crusades probably rendered the Syrian coinage no stranger in this country in the middle ages."—*Journal of the British Archæological Association.*

Upwards of 12,000 small brass coins of the Constantine family were found a short time since at Lyons. The larger portion of them were brought to this country but did not find a customer. Among one or two hundred taken promiscuously, was a single specimen with the exergual letters P.LON. of very different fabric from the rest. It is unfortunate there is not a general disposition in dealers in coins to aid the numismatist by allowing a scientific inspection of hoards which so often fall into their hands.

\* Cufic coins are repeatedly found with Saxon money in Sweden and Denmark.—Ed.



The following is a copy of an autograph from Sir Hans Sloane, in the numismatic collection of Mr. B. Nightingale. The address is unfortunately wanting.

London, *September, 22nd, 1710.*

Sr,—I have yesterday sent to Mr. Sprint the transactions you want. When they arrive pray acquaint me if they make you compleat. You will see severall of yo<sup>r</sup> own papers. I took that opportunity to send you one of the siege pieces coined, I think, from the Bp. of Tournay's plate in the late siege of that town by Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Surville, Commander of it. 'Tis a livre or 20 sols piece. 'Tis wrapt in a paper in one of the transactions. I have not yet had time to look out the fruits. Indeed I am so busied one way or other that I cannot putt names to them, which requires leisure, but I hope soon to do it. I am in the mean time.

Your most obedient Servant,

HANS SLOANE.

Copy of an autograph letter from Dr. Hunter to the Earl of Buchan, accompanying a present of Coins and Seals to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. From the Numismatic collection of Mr. B. Nightingale.

Windmill-street, *September 10th, 1781.*

My Lord,—You did me a very sensible pleasure in making me acquainted with Dr. Duncan.\* Every body here liked his manners and conversation. I have the honor of returning my sincere thanks for several letters received. That I did not sooner express them, your lordship will I know excuse; because you know that I am at all times neglecting something that I wish to do, and professed always to write no letters except upon business. I heartily wish well to your *child*, and I hope it will live to reflect much honour upon its honoured parent; and I wish so well to it, that if I had not myself already more *children* than I can provide for, I would send it a present in money. To shew my hopes of it, and my regard at the same time, I send a box of Scotch money to be deposited in the Museum, viz. 24 Gold Coins, 42 Silver Coins, and 22 in Billon and Copper. Your Society will soon compleat the whole series, I hope. I have likewise sent two Scotch seals. Your Lordship will do me the honor to present my respects to the Society. Wishing your Lordship health, good spirits, and honorable success in every generous undertaking, I remain with great esteem, My Lord, Your Lordship's much obliged and most humble Servant,

WILLIAM HUNTER.

\* This was Dr. Andrew Duncan, Professor of Medicine in the University of Edinburgh. He was the founder of the Horticultural Society of Edinburgh, and a contributor to every Institution projected for the benefit of his countrymen. He died in 1838 aged 83.—B.N.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

- A Correspondent at South Petherton in Somersetshire, has kindly forwarded us an impression of an ancient British coin which he states has recently been dug up in that neighbourhood. It is of the well-known type engraved in the Numismatic Journal, Vol. I., plate i. fig. 9, and, like that example, is of copper plated with silver, as most of these coins are discovered to be.
- Z. The small brass coin is of Hermocapelia, in Lydia, and is scarce: the other is of Syracuse, and very common.
- J. B. A coin of *Massilia*; see "Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes," plate xvi. fig. 5. Part of the legend is detrited.
- Q. E. D. We are still as sceptical as ever about the finding of Greek coins in England. We do not deny that they have been sometimes dug up. What we contend for is that *they are not ancient deposits*. A single coin or even a dozen may be dropped anywhere and may be discovered with Roman denarii or money of the middle ages, but nothing can be deduced from the finding of a Greek coin under such circumstances. Some years since we were invited by a worthy Baronet to inspect a large parcel of coins, which it was said had been discovered on his estate in Kent. They were both Greek and Roman, and most of them in large brass, and genuine, but in bad condition, and they certainly looked as if they had recently been disinterred; but among them were several Paduan forgeries! Now, assuming that these coins had been dug up as stated, the probability is that they were the produce of some robbery; they had perhaps been buried by those who stole them, and justice having overtaken the thieves, they were for a time hidden, until accident again brought them to light.
- "A Kentish Antiquary" thinks the notion of "Fircobretus" on British coins untenable. We think so too, and we are of opinion that no practical numismatist would hold to it for a single moment. If legends are to be read with such license, what may not be made out of the few letters on British Coins?
- W. D. We shall be happy to see the coins, but *there is great danger in sending them by the post*, and we are by no means desirous of sharing the odium of their loss with the post-office authorities, in case they should miscarry. Our correspondents should bear in mind that there is *no redress whatever* for such a mischance.
- Can any of our readers oblige us with descriptions or drawings of London Tavern Tokens?
- H. Some Antiquaries have suggested that the figure is that of *Diana Persica*. We think it a very early form of *Ceres*. It is clearly an Asiatic and perhaps a Lydian divinity. The figure is found on the coins of Hypæpa.



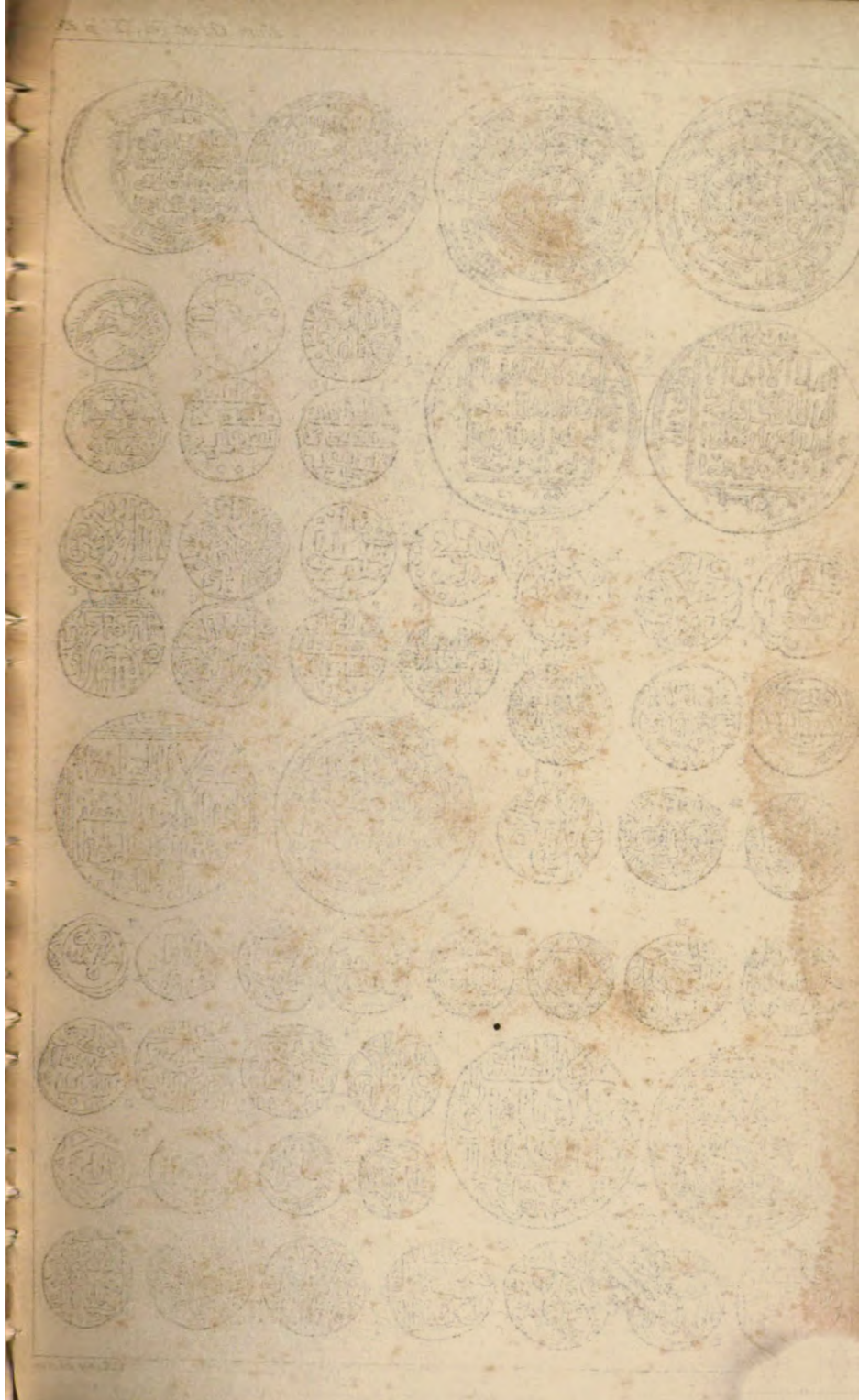






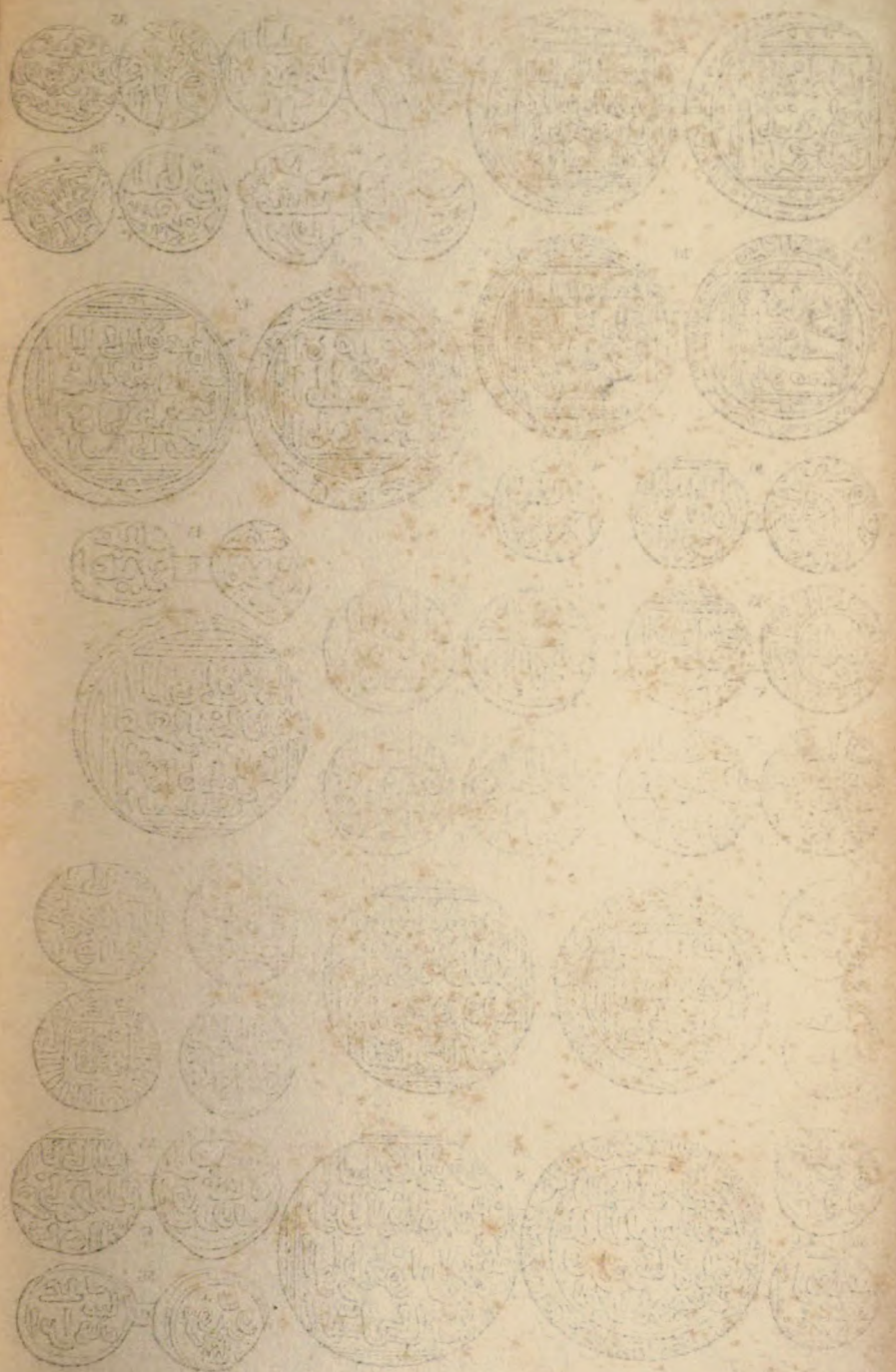




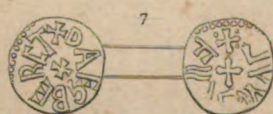
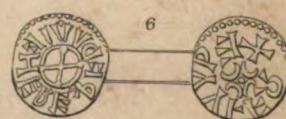
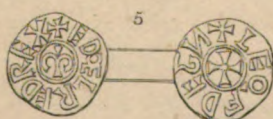
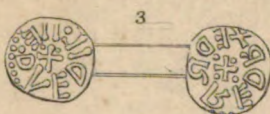
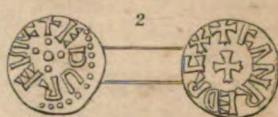
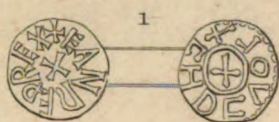












STYGAS FOUND AT YORK.

*J. Basire. sc.*

## VII.

LIST OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS  
OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

Date of Accession.		No. of King.	
A.H.	A.D.		
589	1193	1	Muaz ud din, or Shaháb ud din Mohammed bin Sâm (1st Dynasty).
602	1206	2	Kutb ud din Ibek.
607	1210	3	Arám Sháh bin Ibek.
—	1211	4	Shums ud din Altumsh.
633	1236	5	Ruckn ud din Fírúz Sháh (Fírúz I.).
634	—	6	Sultán Rezíah.
637	1239	7	Muaz ud din Behráam Sháh.
639	1241	8	Alá ud din Masáud Sháh.
644	1246	9	Násir ud din Mahmúd.
664	1266	10	Ghiás ud din Balban.
685	1286	11	Muaz ud din Kaikobád.
687	1288	12	Jellál ud din Fírúz Sháh (Fírúz II.), (2nd Dynasty, Khiljí).
695	1295	13	Rukn ud din Ibrahim.
—	—	14	Alá ud din Mohammed Sháh.
716	1316	15	Shaháb ud din Umur.
717	1317	16	Kutb ud din Mubárik Sháh I.
721	1321	17	Násir ud din Khusrú.
—	—	18	Ghiás ud din Tuglak Sháh (3rd Dyn. Tuglak).
725	1325	19	Mohammed bin Tuglak.
752	1351	20	Fírúz Sháh bin Salar Rajab (Fírúz III.).
790	1388	21	Ghiás ud din Tuglak Sháh II.
791	1389	22	Abúbekir Sháh.
793	1390	23	Násir ud din Mohammed Sháh bin Fírúz Sháh.
796	1394	24	Alá ud din Sekunder Sháh (named Humáyún).
—	—	25	Násir ud din Mahmúd Sháh bin Mohammed Sháh (Tímúr, 800).
797	1395	26	Nuserut Sháh (Interregnum). Mahmúd restored 802.

VOL. IX.

N



Date of Accession		No. of King	
A.H.	A.D.		
814	1412	27	Daulut Khán Lodí.
817	1414	28	Khizr Khán (4th Dynasty, Syuds).
824	1421	29	Muaz ud din Mubárik Sháh (II.).
839	1435	30	Mohammed Sháh bin Ferid Sháh.
849	1444	31	Alá ud din bin Mohammed.
854	1450	32	Behlól Lodí (5th Dynasty, Lodí).
894	1488	33	Sekunder bin Behlól.
923	1517	34	Ibrahím bin Sekunder (Báber, 930 H.).
937	1530	35	Mohammed Humáyún (Moghul).
947	1540	36	Ferid ud din Shír Sháh.
952	1545	37	Islám Sháh.
960	1553	38	Mohammed Adil Sháh.
961	—	39	Ibrahím Súr.
962	1554	40	Sekunder Sháh (Humáyún, 962, then Akber).

#### PRELIMINARY NOTE.

The slight historical notices at the head of the medals of each king, consisting of little more than extracts from *Ferishtah*, have been inserted in the desire of avoiding continual references to histories of the time. In acknowledging the use made of the works of Briggs and Elphinstone, we cannot do better than refer to them for fuller details than our space admits of. The list of kings, somewhat modified, has been taken from the tables published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The Hijra dates have been retained as being in themselves more appropriate to the subject, and as affording a more direct correspondence with the dates to be found on the coins.

It is to be noticed, in referring to the plates, that in the present series of medals, in which the legends read from right to left, the obverse face has been made to take the place usually assigned to the reverse in engravings of European coins.

The very limited number of collections of the class of

coins here described does not admit of any attempt at refinement in expressing the rarity of the different specimens. The most common marks of C., R., V. R., and Unique, have alone therefore been made use of, and these only in reference to the more important medals.

Where an inscription has been restored in full, as in the case of the legend on the outer circle of the obverse of No. 1, the lines above serve to show the words which are to be found in the specimen engraved.

As an English translation of the titles of the kings would interfere with the facility of identification of the individual, who is often better known by his titular designation than by his specific name, and as the strict English rendering of these epithets themselves usually sounds inflated, and, in many instances, absurd, it has been thought desirable to avoid doing more than anglicising the original denominations. It may be sufficient to indicate generally that the titles usually have reference to the religious and temporal celebrity each king at the time of his accession hoped to attain.

#### FIRST KING (A.H. 589—602; A.D. 1193—1206).

Shaháb ud din, or Muaz ud din Mohammed bin Sám, known also by the title of Mohammed Ghorí, the founder of the Patán dynasty of Delhí, is first noticed in history on the occasion of his appointment, in conjunction with his brother, Ghiás ud din, to the government of a province of Ghor, by his uncle, the notorious Alá ud din, the destroyer of Guzní. After the accession of Ghiás ud din to the throne of Ghor in 554 H., Muaz ud din, acting as his general, subdued Khorassan; and, on the conquest of Guzní from Khusrú Malik, in 567, he was nominated to the government of that country. From this time his incursions into



India commenced: in 572, he conquers Multán; in 574, he meets with a sanguinary defeat in an expedition against the prince of Guzrat; in 575, and in 580, Khusrú, the last of the Guznívedes, now king of Lahore, is assailed; and, at length, in 582, subdued by stratagem. In 587, in a more extended expedition into Hindústán, Mohammed Ghorí is totally routed on the memorable field of Thanésur, by the Chohán hero, Prithví, rajah of Ajmír and Delhí. After two years' repose, the disgrace of his defeat still burning within him, he, on the self-same battle ground, again encounters his former conqueror, who is now supported by the whole force of the country, the confederated armies of 150 princes. This time victory favours the Ghorians, and a hard-fought field ends in the total discomfiture of the Indian host. By this single victory the Mohammedans may be said to have become the virtual masters of Hindústán. The ulterior measures for the subjugation of the rest of the country were of speedy accomplishment, and most of the later additions to the Indian empire of Mohammed Ghorí were perfected by his quondam slave, subsequent representative in Hindústán, and eventual successor on the throne of Delhi, Kutb ud din IbeK. Ghiás ud din, who had long retained little beyond the title of a king, died in 600, H.; and, shortly afterwards, Muaz ud din was crowned in form. An unsuccessful attempt at conquest in the north, in itself attended by most disastrous consequences, was succeeded by the revolt of the governors of Guzní and Multán: this outbreak, however, was soon suppressed. In 602, Mohammed Ghorí was slain in his tent, in the centre of his own camp, by a band of his Indian subjects, who thus avenged the loss they had sustained in the wars he had inflicted upon their country. At the death of Mohammed Ghorí, the Mohammedan empire in India

extended generally over nearly the whole of Hindústán Proper, Sindh, and Bengal. The sovereignty was, however, held by various tenures, and was most uncertain in its internal geographical limits.

1.—Silver. 74 grs. V.R. A.H. 596. (*Prinsep Collection.*)

*Obv.*—

هو الذى ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله  
ولو كره المشركون  
لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله السلطان الاعظم  
غياث الدنيا ولدين ابو الفتح  
محمد بن سام

*R.*—

ضرب هذا الدرهم في بلدة غزنه بسنه سته و تسعين و خمس مائه  
الناصر لدين الله السلطان المعظم معز  
الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر  
محمد بن سام

#### TRANSLATION.

*Obv.*—It is he that sendeth his messenger, with guidance and true faith, that he might exalt the (true) religion above all, though the infidels be averse thereto.—There is no god but God. Mohammed is the prophet of God! The most mighty sovereign,—Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din, Abúlfateh.—Mohammed bin Sâm.

*R.*—This Dirhem (was) struck in the city of Ghazneh, in the year Five hundred and ninety-six.—Al Násir le din illah.<sup>1</sup> The mighty sovereign, Muaz—ud dunia wa ud din Abú Muzafar.—Mohammed bin Sâm.

2.—Silver. 68 grs. R.

*Obv.*—

الله محمد رسول الله السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو  
المظفر محمد بن سام

<sup>1</sup> The name of the khalif.



*Margin.*—

ضرب هذا الدر سنة اربع و ا مائه

*R.*—

الله لا اله الا الله الناصر بالله السلطان الا عظم غياث الدنيا والدين  
ابو الفتح محمد بن سام

*Margin.*— و لو كره المشركون &c., same as No. 1, *obv. margin.*

#### TRANSLATION.

*Obv.*—God. Mohammed is the prophet of God. The mighty Sultan, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din, the victorious Mohammed bin Sâm.

*Margin.*—This Dirhem (was) struck . . . . year . . and four

*R.*—God. There is no god but God. Al nasir billah. The most mighty Sultan, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din, the victorious Mohammed bin Sâm.

*Margin.*—Same as No. 1.

N.B. There is a gold coin in the Masson collection, weighing 99 grs., similar in size and shape to this silver Dirhem. It is in bad preservation, and the inscriptions are scarcely legible.

The above coins in the joint names of Ghiás and Muaz ud din, bear testimony to the associated regal powers of the two brothers. It is to be noticed, however, that the superlative “The greatest,” is applied to the one king, while “Great,” is all that is extended to the conqueror of India. It will be observed from the coins which follow, that, on the death of his brother, Muaz ud din took to himself the superlative *الا عظم*

A more intricate question is, however, suggested by the legends on these coins, in regard to the identity of Mohammed bin Sâm himself. It will be seen from the transcript above given, that in one place is to be found the title of

Ghiás ud din, and in another the epithet of Muaz ud din, each in conjunction with the name of Mohammed bin Sâm.

Up to the present time, Muaz ud din, otherwise in all written history styled Shaháb ud din, has invariably been identified as Mohammed bin Sâm, or Mohammed Ghorí; but the inscriptions on our coins would indicate that if Muaz ud din is *Mohammed bin Sâm*, so also is Ghiás ud din.

The coins of Mahmúd, the son of Ghiás ud din, the nephew and Afghán successor of Muaz ud din, distinctly proclaim the king who issued them the son of Mohammed bin Sâm (vide foot of page 99).

The necessary inference from this evidence is that Ghiás ud din owned the name of Mohammed; and as all are prepared to admit Muaz ud din's claim to that designation, there is nothing left but to conclude that both brothers bore or assumed the generally favourite appellation of Mohammed.

Should the legends of the medals themselves be considered as insufficient proof of the strength of the position now assumed, it may be as well to advert to any readily accessible *written* evidence which may serve to throw a light on the question.

Price, in his Mohammedan History,<sup>2</sup> on the authority of the "Khalásut ul Akhbár," calls Ghiás ud din, *Mohammed bin Sâm*; leaving Shaháb ud din undesignated beyond this title, and an allusion to his parentage as derived from Sâm.

The accuracy of the translation of the passage referred to is fully confirmed by a reference to an original MS. of the Khalásut ul Akhbár in the Library of the Royal Asiatic

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<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 455.



Society;<sup>3</sup> and the correctness of the purport of the text of the work in question is directly upheld and more fully explained by the following passage from the *Rozsut us Safá*.<sup>4</sup>

وبه استصوب اشراف آن دیار سلطان غیاث الدین را بر تخت  
نشاند و قبل از سلطنت محمد بن سام را شمس الدین میگفتند  
و برادرش شهاب الدین میخواندند چون بر سر پیر جهانداري  
تمکن یافت ملقب بسلطان غیاث الدین گشت و برادرش را  
معز الدین لقب دادند

“And with the approbation of the nobles of that country (he) placed Sultan Ghiás ud din on the throne. Prior to his accession, Mohammed bin Sám was called Shums ud din, and his brother was designated Shaháb ud din; (but) when he became king, he became entitled Ghiás ud din, and his brother was surnamed Muaz ud din.”

The conclusion above suggested, if not entirely borne out, is very strongly supported by the application of the designations of Mohammed to both brothers, in an earlier part of the last mentioned work, on the first introductory notice of their names on the occasion of their imprisonment by Alá ud din.

3.—Silver. 71 grs. R.

*Obv.*—

السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

*Margin.*—

شهور

ضرب هذا الدرهم

<sup>3</sup> No. 101, MS. Catalogue. See also, *Mirát al Alem*, No. 55, *idem*.

<sup>4</sup> *Mír Kháwand*, known as *Mírkhond*. MS. Catalogue, No. 43, Library of the Asiatic Society.

R.—

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله الناصر لدين الله امير المؤمنين

Margin.—

هو الذى ارسله ودين الحق ليظهره فى الدين كله

## TRANSLATION.

*Obv.*—The most mighty sovereign, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din,  
The victorious Mohammed bin Sâm.

*Margin.*—This Dirhem was struck . . . months . . .

R.—There is no god but God. Al nâsir le din illah, The  
commander of the faithful.

*Margin.*—Imperfect, same as No. 1 *obv. margin.*

A similar medal, in the possession of Dr. Swiney, has  
the date 598.

The Guznî coins of the above class, in the sole name of  
Muaz ud din Mohammed bin Sâm, were most probably  
issued after the death of Ghiâs ud din; they are remarkable  
in having apparently served as models, in point of form, for  
the silver money of the succeeding kings of Delhi.

4.—Mixed copper and silver. 49 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم محمد بن سام

The most mighty Sultan, Mohammed bin Sâm.

R.—Horseman in outline, and श्री हमीर: Sri\_Hamírah  
(Amír).<sup>5</sup>

5.—Mixed Copper and Silver. 49 grs.

*Obv.*—Same as No. 4.

R.—Rude figure of a cavalier.

6.—Silver (impure). 46 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم ابوالمظفر محمد بن سام

The most mighty Sultan, The victorious Mohammed bin  
Sâm.

R.—The same as No. 5.

<sup>5</sup> A Devanâgrî abbreviation of the full Arabic title of *Amír Al Mominín*, The commander of the faithful.



## 7.—Silver and Copper. R.

*Obv.*—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين*R.*—محمد بن سام

## 8.—Silver and Copper. 46 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين*R.*—ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

## 9.—Silver and Copper. 49 grs. C.

*Obv.*—सा महमद सामे Sa (Shah) Mahamad Same.*R.*—श्री हमीर: Sri Hamirah.

## 10.—Silver and Copper. 46 grs. C.

*Obv.*—महमद सामि Mahamad Sami.*R.*—Horseman.

Though not strictly to be classed among the coins of the Mohammedan kings of India, it may not be inappropriate to notice in this place, with reference to the title of Mohammed bin Sám, the following unique unpublished medal of Táj ud din Ilduz, the governor of Guzní, who attempted to throw off his allegiance on his master's defeat in Khwarizm.

This coin, in weight 96 grs., has on its obverse, السلطان المعز The Sultan Al Muaz, in a small square area; and on its broad margin, the legend السلطاني عبد و مولا تاج الدنيا و الدين يلدز The royal servant and slave, Táj ud dunia wa ud din Ilduz. The reverse has the same inscription as No. 3, but the date on the margin is unfortunately wanting. The copper coins of this governor (who subsequently became king of Guzní) are common, and a specimen, struck in the time of Mohammed bin Sám, may be referred to in No. 18, pl. xx., Ariana Antiqua.

Before dismissing the subject of the coins of Mohammed Ghorí, a reference should be made to certain specimens of what is known as the later Kanoúj coinage bearing the

name of Mohammed bin Sâm and Mír Mohammed Sâm, in Hindí. These medals are given in detail in Professor Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua* (pl. xx., figs. 25, 26, 27, and 27 suppl. pl.) It has not been thought necessary to reproduce these coins in the present notice of the money of the Patán sultans, as, from the absence of the names of any other kings in our list, it is evident the medals in question were merely a temporary continuation of the local mintage on the first conquest of the country by the Mohammedans.

#### SECOND KING (A.H. 602—607; A.D. 1206—1210).

From the actual accession of Kutb ud din Ibek, in 602 A.H., till his death in 607, with the exception of his conquest of Guzní from Ilduz, and its subsequent loss, but little worthy of note occurred; and the empire remained much in the state to which he himself may be said to have brought it prior to his investiture with the emblems of kingly dignity by Mahmúd, the nephew and Afghán successor<sup>6</sup> of Mohammed Ghorí.

Kutb ud din, while acting as viceroy for Mohammed bin Sâm, may be supposed to have issued the money of his government in the name of his master. Nos. 8 and 9 bear signs of being the produce of the Delhí mint, and are probably some of the coins produced under Kutb ud din's auspices. The oriental reverence attaching to the right to coin militates against an inference that Ibek struck no money in his own name; at the same time, it is possible that his experience in the realities of kingly power, before

<sup>6</sup> The copper money of this prince, in form and weight and device, similar to the coin No. 4, bears the following legend:—

السلطان الاعظم محمود بن محمد بن سام The most mighty Sultan, Mahmud bin Mohammed bin Sâm.



he arrived at the nominal rank of an independent sovereign, may have rendered him careless of the mere forms of royalty; among which last is most certainly to be classed an issue of coin, for the sole purpose of proving the existence of the power of coining.

The coin attributed by Marsden to this king is from the mint of Kutb ud din Mubárik.

### THIRD KING (A.H. 607; A.D. 1210—1211).

Arám succeeded his father, Ibek; but after a reign of barely one year, during which he lost many of the provinces of his kingdom, he was defeated and deposed by Altumsh, at that time governor of Budáon.

#### 11.—Copper. 54 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—ابو المظفر ارام شاه السلطان The victorious Arám Shah, the Sultan.

*R.*—Rude figure of a cavalier.

#### 12.—Copper.

*Obv.*—Idem.

Owing to the paucity of specimens (two only being known), their bad preservation, and wretched execution, it is difficult to feel assured of the correct attribution of the above coins: suffice it to say, the identification is sanctioned by all orientalists who have been consulted on the subject.

### FOURTH KING (A.H. 607—633; A.D. 1211—1236).

Shums ud din Altumsh, like Ibek, had originally been a slave; rising, however, to be general and son-in-law to his master, he finally displaced that master's son. From his accession, in 607, with the exception of his victory over Ilduz, who was in possession of Guzní and other provinces,

and an attempt to subdue his brother-in-law, Kubá Chah,<sup>7</sup> king of Sindh, his reign was, for the time, comparatively tranquil, and remained undisturbed even by the threatened advance of the Moguls under Zengiz Khán. In 622 he finally overcame Kubá Chah, and re-attached Sindh to the empire. During this year, the governor of Bengal and Behar was brought to acknowledge the supremacy of the monarch of Delhí, which had been disclaimed by Baktiar Khíljí since the death of Ibek. The sultan was employed for the next six years in the subjection of those portions of the country which had remained independent, or, having been conquered, had revolted; and, before his death, Altumsh ruled over all Hindústán, with the exception of some few insulated portions. The powers of Mohammedan sultans, as rulers, as indeed those of all lordships of Hindústán, from its earliest history, seem to have been most indeterminate: at times, and in certain districts, extending to absolute possession of soil and people on the part of the king, and full and perfect subjection on the part of the local governors and those they ruled over; liable however at any time to endless fluctuations, as the strength of the sovereign, the turbulence of the governor, or the spirit of independence of the people, rose or fell. In other cases, allegiance reached only so far as a nominal recognition of supremacy, or even a tacit abstinence from denial of such; suffice it to say, that among the multifarious

<sup>7</sup> For coins of this prince, vide *Ariana Antiqua*, fig. 19, pl. xx.; *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*, vol. iv. figs. 47, 28, 29, pl. xxxvii. The inscriptions on these pieces may be read as follows: Nos. 19 and 47—*Obv.* ناصر الدنيا و الدين قباچه السلطان Násir ud dunia wa ud din Kubá Chah, a Sulian. R.—Horsemán and श्री हमीर. And Nos. 28 and 29—*Obv.* The bull Nandí and श्री कुपाचहा सुलतां (Sri Kupáchahá Sultan). R.—Same as Nos. 19 and 47.



tenures, and the many changes it was constantly liable to, one general rule of absolute monarchy prevailed—that the length of the sword was the limit of the sway. During the course of Altumsh's reign, he received investiture from the Khalif of Baghdad—a most important recognition to a Mohammedan government, and one that is remarkable as being the earliest notice taken by the court of Baghdad of this new Indo-Mohammedan kingdom. Mohammed bin Sám, though he adopted the titles of the khalifs on his coins, did so probably not so much with reference to his Indian kingdom as on the strength of being the successor to the throne of Guzní; the monarchs of which dynasty had for centuries been acknowledged as faithful Mussulmans, and their subjects considered as part of the flock of The Commander of the Faithful. The Indian conquests constituted, during the lifetime of Mohammed bin Sám, only a portion of the whole Guzní empire. Shortly after his death, however, when the Indian provinces were erected into a separate kingdom, they ceased to have any dependence on the rulers of the countries whence the race of their new kings had come. Altumsh died in 634, and was succeeded by his son.

13.—Silver. 164 grs. R. (*Prinsep Collection.*)<sup>8</sup>

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر التمش  
السلطان The most mighty Sultan, Shums ud dunia wa  
ud din abúl Muzuffir Altumsh, the Sultan.

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<sup>8</sup> Neither Oriental authors nor Indian moneyers seem to have had any very definite idea of the correct orthography of the name of this king. Rashid ud din, Mirkhond, and the author of the *Khalásut ul Akhbár*, all differ slightly in their mode of spelling this word; and the masters of the Delhi mint will be seen to have been as little particular. The indecision of these last is somewhat to be excused, seeing the *Túrki* origin of the title in question,

R.—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين  
 There is no god but God, Mohammed is the prophet  
 of God. Al Mustansir billah, the Commander of the  
 Faithful.

Marg.—ضرب هذا الدر - - - - -

A second specimen (Lord Auckland's) has the same obverse, but a different reverse, and the inscriptions on both sides are in squares within circles.

R.—في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين  
 In the time of Al Mustansir, the Commander of the  
 Faithful.

Marg.—ضرب هذه النضة - - - - -

14.—Silver. 53 grs. V.R.

Obv.—श्री सुलतां लिटितिमिसि सं १२८३ Sri  
 Sultan Lititimisi sun, 1283 (Sumvut, 1283; A.H. 623).

R.—In circle, سلطان ايلتمش Sultan Aeltumsh.

15.—Silver and Copper. 48 grs. C.

Obv.—असावुरी श्री समसोरलदिवि Bull and Asá-  
 wuri sri Sāmāsórāldivi.

R.—सी चाहरदिव Sri Cháhar div. Horseman.

The clear cutting of the die of the above coin, and the number of specimens of a similar character it is possible to refer to,<sup>9</sup> leave no doubt as to the correct reading of the inscription on the obverse, Asáwuri sri Sāmāsórāldiví. The legend on the reverse however presents a slight difficulty, incident to the transition state of the Devanágri alphabet, in the initial letter of the name. It has been proposed to read this as R or V; but the occurrence of both these con-

which, Col. Briggs has shown, was derived from the Túrki word التمش Sixty, at which number of Tomans our slave king was heretofore purchased.

<sup>9</sup> Ariana Antiqua, pl. xix., figs. 16, 31, 34, 37.



sonants in the latter part of the name itself, where they are found differing in shape from the letter in question, makes this rendering inadmissible.

In regard to the coin itself, there is reason to suppose that it derives its origin from the mint of some *Hindú* prince, as a reference to the *Hindú* creed seems to be signified in the use of the word *Asáwurí*, as well as by the fact that coins having the same reverse are extant, bearing the old Brahmanical name of *Srí Samanta dev*, in the place here taken possession of by the title of *Sri Shums ud din*.

It may therefore be taken to be the sample of the money of some *Hindú* ruler, who, once independent, became subsequently subject to the arms or policy of *Altumsh*; the emperor, in upholding the local sovereignty of his new vassal, probably obliged him to acknowledge the supremacy of his lord paramount, by inscribing the imperial titles on the currency he was still allowed to issue.

The name of *Cháhur dev* is a known one in the family of the last *Hindú* king of *Delhí*, and was borne by a brother of *Prithví Rajah* himself, as well as (if *Abul Fazl* is to be trusted) by an immediate predecessor of this prince on the throne of the *Chohans* at *Ajmír*.

16.—Silver and Copper. 48 grs. C.

*Obv.*—सुलतण सा समसदीं *Sūltān sā sūmāsā dīn.* Bull.  
R.—श्री हमीर *Sri Hāmīrāh.* Horseman.

17.—Silver and Copper. 46 grs. C.

*Obv.*—شمس الدنيا والدين اليتمش *Shums ud dunia wa ud din Aletumsh.*

R.—Horseman and *Sri Hāmīrāh.*

18.—Silver and Copper. 53 grs. C.

*Obv.*—شمس الدنيا والدين اليتمش السلطان *Shums ud dunia wa ud din Aletumsh, the Sultan.*

R.—Horseman and *Sri Hāmīrāh.*

19.—Copper. 26 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السلطان The Sultan.

R.—عدل Just.

20.—Copper. 24 grs. C.

*Obv.*—عدل سلطان The just Sultan.

R.—حضرت دهلي (Struck) at the capital, Delhi.

21.—Copper. 28 grs. R.

*Obv.*—شمس Shums.

R.—श्री समस दीन Sri Sāmās dīn.

22.—Copper. 25½ grs. R.

*Obv.*—عدل The Just.

R.—شمس Shums.

23.—Copper. 25½ grs.

*Obv.*—سلطان Sultan.

R.—التمش Altumsh.

There is a silver coin in the Prinsep Cabinet, weighing 163 grs., inscribed: *Obv.*—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله *Rev.*—في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين which will probably be found to be a medal of Altumsh, struck on the arrival of the diploma of the khalif, recognising the independent Mohammedan empire of Delhi. In the absence of any name except that of the khalif, and in the total loss of the marginal legends, it is of course impossible to decide with certainty to whom this coin belongs. However, the style, the shape of the letters, the khalif's title, and particularly those titles standing alone, all justify the supposition regarding its origin which is now advanced.



## FIFTH KING (A.H. 633—634; A.D. 1237—1238).

Ruckn ud din Fírúz's unimportant reign of seven months' duration was terminated by the elevation of his sister, the celebrated Rezíah.

24, 25, 26.—Copper. 55 and 42 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—السلطان المعظم ركن الدين بن السلطان The great King,  
Rukn ud din, son of the Sultan.

R.—Horseman.

For some time after their first discovery these coins were attributed to Rezíah, and even now, assigned as they are to Ruckn ud din, there is much doubt as to their due appropriation: the best specimens, however, favor the reading now adopted, and show the ركن of Rukn pretty distinctly. There is a difficulty in the shape of the بن (bin), which looks more like بنت (binut); but the form of the coins and the tenor of the inscription differ so much from those of Rezíah, the only woman of our series, that these reasons alone would lead to a rejection of her claim to the money in dispute.

## SIXTH REIGN (A.H. 634—637; A.D. 1236—1239).

Sultán Rezíah. This princess presents the remarkable incident in Mohammedan history of a reigning queen! Ferishtah, speaking of her, says, "there was no fault to be found with her but that she was a woman!" a most orthodox Mohammedan sneer, and one unfortunately too well justified in the present instance. Her capacity for business, and her sufficiency to fill and adorn a throne, had already been shown during the reign of her father, who, when absent from Delhi, had left her in charge of his

government in preference to his sons. Nor did her early conduct after her elevation disappoint the fair expectations raised in her favor. The ability with which she dissolved the army of an opposing faction, even after its victory over her own forces, evinced aptitude in diplomacy of no mean order: her civil and judicial administration was equally admirably conducted: and, in short, she displayed all the qualities of an able and just sovereign. All her high endowments, all her achieved successes, were however destined to be sacrificed to a woman's weakness, which seems to have been reprobated more from the fact of the object of her attachment being of low degree (an Abyssinian slave) than from any supposed impropriety in the mere act of an empress loving. The objections taken by the nobles to her manifest partiality to this person were brought to a crisis by her elevating him to the dignity of Amír ul Amráh (chief of the nobles). Open revolt ensued, which resulted in the dethronement of the queen, who was made over for safe custody to Altunia, one of the leaders of the insurrection, and her brother, Behráh, raised to the musnud in her stead. Here again Rezíah displayed her subtilty in persuading Altunia to marry her, and then readily induced him to support her claims against his former confederates; which was so effectually done that it was not until after two severe battles that she was finally made prisoner and put to death.

27.—Silver. 165 grs. Unique. (*Prinsep Collection.*)

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم جلالة الدنيا والدين ملكة ابنت الشمس  
 السلطان مهرة أمير المؤمنين The most mighty Sultan,  
 Jellálat ud dunia wa ud din (the glory of the world and the  
 faith), the Queen, the daughter of the Sultan Altumsh, the  
 beloved of the commander of the faithful.



R.—Area - - في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين  
In the time of the Imám Al Mustunsir, the commander of  
the faithful.

Marg.—ستمائة - - - النضة

28 and 29.—Copper. 47 and 49 grs. V.R.

Obv.—السلطان الاعظم رضىه الدنيا والدين The most mighty  
Sultan, Reziah ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—Horseman and Sri Hāmīrah.

Up to the present time the term *Reziah* has been looked upon as implying a name and not a title; the coins above appear to demonstrate the contrary to be the fact: the silver medal negatively, inasmuch as it does not give *Reziah* as a name; and the copper coins positively, in displaying the *Reziah* joined to the *ud dunia*, &c. In a Persian MS. in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, denominated "Tarikhi Hind" (No. 125 of MS. Catalogue), she is also adverted to under the title of رضى الدنيا والدين *Rezi ud din*, without any further attempt at designation. The meaning assigned to رضى is, *satisfying*. Her name may, therefore, be rendered, The approved.

It will be remarked that the coins retain the *Sultan* in the masculine gender, whereas all the rest of the Persian inscription is duly preserved in the feminine: this curious affectation of the superior sex in regard to her regal position, strongly supports the account of Ferishtah, that "changing her apparel" she "assumed the imperial robes."

#### SEVENTH KING (A.H. 637—639 ; A.D. 1239—1241).

The reign of Muaz ud din Behrám Sháh, in duration little more than two years, was marked during its continuance by the usual amount of intrigues, assassinations, and mutinies common to an Eastern court under a weak

monarchy, and was finally brought to a close by the siege of the capital by the vizir, and the subsequent imprisonment and murder of the sovereign.

A partial invasion of the north of India, by the Moghuls of Zengiz Khán, took place during 639; they, however, penetrated no further than Lahore.

30 and 31.—Silver and Copper mixed. 54 and 56 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا و الدين The most mighty Sultan, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—Horseman, and السلطان the Sultan.

32.—Silver and Copper mixed. Unique.

*Obv.*—सुलतान सा मुयजदीं Bull and Sultan Sā (Shah) Mūyāzādīn.

R.—श्री हमीरः Horseman and Sri Hāmīrah.

EIGHTH KING (A.H. 639—644; A.D. 1241—1246).

The uncertainty of succession to Eastern thrones is prominently displayed in the present instance, in the accession of two kings in one day. Eiz ud din Balbum, a son-in-law of Altumsh, supported by a faction, assumed the sovereignty immediately on the decease of Behrám; but, before night, he was supplanted by Alá ud din Masáud, a son of Rukn ud din Fírúz, upon whom the choice of the more influential nobles had fallen.

The reign of this prince was marked by the occurrence of two invasions of India by the Moghuls: in the one case, they penetrated through Thibet into Bengal, where they were met and defeated by the troops on the spot; in the other instance, their approach from the West was checked by the advance of the sultan in person. A two years' rule, otherwise remarkable only for the evil conduct of the sovereign, closed with his imprisonment and death.



A coin similar to No. 33, with the exception of the name of the khalif, which indicates an earlier date.

<sup>a</sup>.—Copper. 169 grs. V.R.

R.—*في عهد الامام المستنصر امير المؤمنين* In the time of the Imám Al Mustansir, the commander of the faithful.

N.B. Al Mustansir died in 640 A.H.

33.—Silver. 168 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—*السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر مسعود شاد*  
The mighty King, Alá ud dunia wa ud din.  
The victorious Masáud Sháh, the son of the King.

*Marg.*— - - - *ضرب سنة احدى*

R.—*Area* - - *في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين*  
In the time of the Imám Al Mustassem, the commander of the faithful.

*Marg.*—*سنة احدى واربعين وستمائة* . . . Year 641.

34.—Silver and Copper. 50 grs.

*Obv.*—*السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين* The mighty King,  
Alá ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—*مسعود شاد* Masáud Sháh.

35.—Copper. 49½ grs.

*Obv.*—*الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين مسعود شاد*

R.—*مسعود شاد*

36.—Silver and Copper. 52 grs.

*Obv.*—*مسعود بن سلطان*?

R.—Rude figure of a horseman.

37.—Copper. 56 grs.

*Obv.*—*السلطان الاعظم مسعود السلطان*

R.—Rude figure of a horseman.

38.—Copper and Silver. 41 grs.

*Obv.*—*अलादिण* Bull and Aládin.

## NINTH KING (A.H. 644—663; A.D. 1246—1266).

The early part of the reign of Násir ud din Mahmúd has been rendered celebrated by the acts of his vizir, Balban; whose successful arrangements for the defence of the frontier from the attacks of the Moghuls (the crying evil of the day) were followed by measures equally efficient for the internal security and consolidation of the empire, by bringing under more perfect subjection many of the local Hindú rajahs, who had been enabled to disclaim their allegiance during the preceding reign. The jealousy of the sultan, consequent upon the great energy and influence of his vizir, led to the dismissal of the latter; but the somewhat authoritative demand of many of the provincial governors necessitated his speedy restoration. The exemplary private life of this monarch offers a strong contrast to the results usually attendant upon the power of unlimited indulgence incident to the occupation of an Asiatic throne.

## 39.—Silver. 170 grs. C.

*Obv.*—Area السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر محمود

ابن السلطان Date 688 H. The most mighty Sovereign Násir ud dunia wa ud din. The victorious Mahmúd, the son of the Sultan.

Both *Obv.* and *Rev. margin.*—ضرب هذه النقة بحضرة دهلي في سنة ثمان خمسين وستمائة This silver (coin was) struck at the capital, Delhi, in the year 658.

*R.*—Area - - في عهد الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين  
In the time of the Imam Al Mostassem, the commander of the faithful.

## 40.—Silver and Copper. 51 grs.

*Obv.*—Area السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين The most mighty Sovereign Násir ud dunia wa ud din.

*R.*—श्री हमीरः महमूद Mahmúd. Sri Hamírah.



41.—Copper. 54 grs.

*Obr.*—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين The most mighty  
Sovereign Násir ud dunia wa ud din.

TENTH KING (A.H. 664—685; A.D. 1266—1286).

Mahmúd, leaving no male issue, the facile succession of his powerful vizir followed almost of necessity. Balban's conduct after his elevation was not altogether in accordance with the promise of his behaviour while a minister. Once a slave, now a king, the first endeavour of his reign was to destroy the very race of Túrki bondmen among whom he himself had lately been numbered. In his own altered position, legitimacy was to become paramount. The inalienable succession of his own heirs was now to be secured. The contingency under which he had risen was, for the future, to be rendered impossible. To this end blood was not spared; and in this spirit the lives of his own near relations were sacrificed with but little compunction. The severity also which led to the wholesale depopulation of a province, albeit of bandits, attended by the slaughter of 100,000 human beings, was scarcely to be justified by a plea of far more urgent expediency than can be advanced in the instance in question. About this period, the disorder of the neighbouring kingdoms consequent upon the invasion of the Moghuls, drove the most illustrious men from all quarters to seek refuge in India. There, were assembled all the brightest ornaments of the Asiatic world; and, at their head, no less than fifteen sovereign princes. For a time, the old Hindú capital became, as it were, the centre of Mohammedanism; and Delhi shone with a splendour but little anticipated for it by its Moslim occupiers of a few short years before.

The unsparing rigour of the emperor secured his supremacy almost unquestioned throughout his long reign, with the exception of the one serious revolt of Tugrul, the governor of Bengal, who assumed the style and titles of an independent king, and was successful in defeating two several armies sent to subdue him. At length, the sultan proceeded against him in person, and coming upon the whole force of the rebels somewhat unexpectedly, he in a dashing spirit of chivalry, though at the head of only forty troopers, entered their camp at headlong speed, and struck panic into his adversaries by his very rashness. In the precipitate flight which ensued, Tugrul was captured and slain. Balban's loss of his eldest son, who fell in the hour of victory, fighting against the enemies of his race, the Moghuls, hastened the end for which, at the age of eighty, nature must already have prepared the way; and the emperor, in the language of his people, took the road to another world.

<sup>b</sup>.—Gold. R. 169 grs. Date 678 H. (*Marsden.*)

Same type and legends as No. 42, with the exception of the word الله in place of الفضة

42.—Silver. 168 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بلبن  
السلطان The most mighty Sovereign, Ghiás ud dunia wa  
ud din. The victorious Balban, the Sultán.

R.—الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين The Imám Al Mustassem,  
commander of the faithful.

*Margin.*—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة ثمان وسبعين  
وستماية This silver (coin was) struck at the capital, Delhí,  
in the year 678 H.

A change is to be noticed in the coins of Balban, in the rejection of the words *fī uhud*, "in the time of," "under



the auspices of," usually prefixed to the name of the khalif on the medals of his predecessors. The last Abbasside khalif, Mustassem, was put to death in 656 A.H., by the Moghul conqueror of Baghdad, Hulaku Khan. It has been the subject of remark, as an apparent inconsistency, that Balban and other monarchs should have continued to employ the name of this martyr of their faith long subsequent to his decease; its retention, however, may be considered as appropriate, as it was clearly intentional; pending the appearance of an acknowledged successor to the throne of Mohammed, no course could have been less open to objection than a continuation of this simple record of the last who had borne the mantle of the Prophet.

43.—Copper. 47½ grs. C.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين The most mighty Sovereign, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din.

*R.*—Centre بلبن Balban. *Marg.* श्री: सुलतां गयास दीं  
Sri Sultán Ghiás ud din.

44.—Copper. 67 grs. C.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم The most mighty Sovereign.

*R.*—غياث الدنيا والدين Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din.

45.—Copper. 26 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—عدل غياثى (The) just (coin of) Ghiás.

*R.*—حضرت دهلي At the capital, Delhí.

ELEVENTH KING (A.H. 685—687; A.D. 1286—1288).

Prior to the decease of his father, Bakarra Khan, then governor of Bengal, had been disinherited from the succession to the throne of Delhí, and Kaikhusrú, the son of his elder brother, Mohammed, had been nominated in his

stead ; but the nobles present in the capital at the time of the death of Balban superseded this last arrangement by elevating Kaikobád, another grandson of the emperor, and the son of Bakarrah Khan himself. The governor of Bengal, on receiving information of the state of matters at Delhí, marched towards that metropolis for the purpose of asserting his own right to the crown ; but being met on the way by the army of his son, he returned to Bengal without any further effort, leaving Kaikobád the now undisputed monarch of Hindústán. The early part of this reign, conspicuous for the dissipation of the king, and the influence and oppressive conduct of the vizir, was marked by the foul and needless massacre of the Moghul mercenaries in the service of the state. The emperor's father, who had retained the kingdom of Bengal, hearing of the position of thralldom to which his son was reduced, by the domination of his vizir, endeavoured to remedy the evil by warnings. Seeing these of no effect, he moved an army towards the capital. The son was not slow to meet him, and the two forces encamped nearly in sight of each other. But Bakarrah Khan, or, as he had been called since the death of Balban, Násir ud din, finding himself inferior to the troops opposed to him, and being unwilling to leave his son, as of old, in the power of his minister, desired an interview, with the object of endeavouring, by personal persuasion, to effect what written remonstrances had failed to accomplish.

Under the advice of the vizir an audience was conceded, but only on terms of the most abject humiliation possible for the father. When, however, these came to be carried out, and the meeting between father and son actually took place, in the presence of the whole court, the supremacy of nature had its way, and the son would now have humbled himself even as he had been taught to humiliate his sire.



The meeting ended in a recognition of the independence of the kingdom of Bengal, but was useless for the purpose for which it had been sought. The murder of the minister, in 688, but little improved the now paralytic king's position; he was only surrounded by new intriguers for power, the competition for which ended in favour of Fírúz Khiljí, whose last step to the foot of the throne was over the corpse of his predecessor; the small remains of whose life left little to be done by his assassins.

46.—Silver. 168 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر كيقباد  
السلطان Date, 687. The most mighty Sovereign, Muaz  
ud dunia wa ud din. The victorious Kaikobád, the Sultan.

*R.*—الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين  
commander of the faithful.

*Marg.*—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت دهلي في سنة سبع وثمانين  
وستماية This silver (coin was) struck at the capital, Delhi,  
in the year 687.

47.—Silver and Copper. 54 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم معز الدنيا والدين  
Sovereign, Muaz ud dunia wa ud din.

*R.*—كيقباد Kaikobád. श्री सुलतां मुउजुदी Sri  
Sultán Mu-ujudin.

This word presents a curious instance of the difficulty of expressing the sounds of certain letters of the Arabic alphabet in the written Hindí language. There being no consonant corresponding with the Arabic *z* as used in معز the die-cutter, not satisfied with the मुयजदी of his predecessors, has apparently invented a letter for the occasion, composed of the final visarga (:) placed horizontally; to

which has been attached the vowel ۛ ũ; making the whole something like *Mu-ohujudin*.

48.—Copper. 51 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم The most mighty Sovereign,

*R.*—معز الدنيا والدين Muaz ud dunia wa ud din.

49.—Copper. 59 grs.

*Obv.*—عدل معزي The just (coin of) Muaz.

*R.*—محضرت دهلي. The capital, Delhí.

#### TWELFTH KING (A.H. 687—695; A.D. 1288—1295).

Fírúz's accession does not appear to have been immediate on the death of the late king, as native historians mention the succession of Shums ud din Kai Kaus, a son of Kaikobád,<sup>8</sup> who is said to have reigned for three months and some days. Ferishtah also, though he does not allow him a separate reign, indirectly countenances the fact, in his notice of the murder of this prince by Fírúz, as an early act towards the consolidation of his own power.

The seven years' domination over the destinies of Hindústán of this, the first of the race of Khiljí, notable, in as far as the sovereign was concerned, only for his unwise clemency, has been rendered remarkable by the extensive campaigns of his nephew, Alá ud din; whose expedition into the Dekhin—as successful as it was daring—was the means of securing for this leader the enormous wealth which enabled him first to rebel, and eventually to possess himself of the crown of Delhí. Intrigue, however, was found more suitable than overt insurrection; and, in a moment of unwise confidence, Fírúz ventured with but a slight

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<sup>8</sup> See Aien i Akhberí and Mirát al Alem, &c.



escort into the camp of his deceiver, where he was assassinated under circumstances of more than usual atrocity.

50.—Silver. 168 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين أبو المظفر فيروز شاه—  
السلطان The most mighty Sovereign, Jelal ud dunia wa ud  
din. The victorious Fírúz Sháh, the Sultan.

R.—Area الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين  
The Imám Al Mustassem, commander of the faithful.

*Marg.*—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة خمس وتسعين—  
وستمائة This silver (coin was) struck at the capital, Delhi,  
in the year 695.

51.—Silver. 52 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين The most mighty  
Sovereign, Jelal ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—Centre فيروز شاه Fírúz Sháh.

*Marg.*—श्रीः सुलतां जलालुद्दीं Sri Sultán Jalaludin.

52.—Copper. 67 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم The most mighty Sovereign,

R.—جلال الدنيا والدين Jelal ud dunia wa ud din.

53.—Copper. 29 grs.

*Obv.*—عدل فيروز شاه Just (coin of) Fírúz Sháh.

R.—بحضرت دهلي At the capital, Delhi.

There are certain coins similar in character to Nos. 16, 32, and 41, bearing the legend सा जलालदिं which probably should be attributed to this sultan; but in the absence of any means of identification beyond the mere title, and adverting to the apparent discontinuance of the use of this

species of coin at this period, there may be some doubt as to the possibility of the specimens in question belonging either to Reziáh or Jelál ud din Khárizm Sháh; who, it is to be remarked, held sovereignty in the Punjab, for a short time, during the reign of Altumsh.

### THIRTEENTH KING (A.H. 695; A.D. 1295).

On the murder of his father, in the camp of Alá ud din, Rukn ud din Ibrahím was elevated to the throne of Hindústán. His party being in possession of the capital, gave him a temporary existence as a king—a dignity which otherwise, as a younger son and a minor, he was neither entitled nor fitted to hold. Alá ud din, having already at his command a powerful army, and the booty of the Duckhun supplying him with means of increasing his force to an almost unlimited extent, had merely to advance to Delhí to put an end to the rule of the boy king, whose safety was for a time secured by a precipitate flight to Multán.

54.—Silver. 167 grs. Unique. (*Lord Auckland's Cabinet.*)

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم ركن الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر ابراهيم شاه—

السلطان بن The most mighty Sovereign, Rukn ud dunia wa ud din. The victorious Ibrahím Sháh, the Sultán, son of—

*R.*—السلطان الاعظم جلال الدنيا والدين فيروز شاه ناصر امير—

المومنين The most mighty Sultán, Jelal ud dunia wa ud din, Fírúz Sháh, supporter of the commander of the faithful.

*Marg.*—ضرب هذا الفضة بحضرت دهلي سنة خمس وتسعين—

وستمايه This silver (coin was) struck in the capital, Delhí, in the year 695.



55.—Copper. 52 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ رُكْنُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ The most mighty  
Sovereign, Rukn ud dunia wa ud din.

R.—ابرهیم شاه بن فیروز شاد Ibrahím Sháh, son of Fírúz Sháh.

56.—Copper. 38 grs. R.

*Obv.*—عدل ابرهیم شاه Just (coin of) Ibrahím Sháh,

R.—ابرهیم شاه بن فیروز شاد son of Fírúz Sháh.

#### FOURTEENTH KING (A.H. 695—716; A.D. 1295—1316).

Alá ud din Mohammed Sháh, the most energetic and powerful of the Moslim monarchs who had yet swayed the destinies of Hindústán, consolidated his authority after his accession by means as little scrupulous as those which he had used in its attainment. His own individual efforts to this end were aided by the successes of his generals against the last remaining stronghold of the family of Fírúz in Multán, the repulse of a Moghul invasion in the Punjab, and the reduction of the kingdom of Guzrát. In 698 A.H., Northern India was desolated by another invasion of the Moghuls: this time, the expedition being conducted with skill, and supported by an overwhelming force, the assailants met with but little effectual opposition till they reached the gates of Delhí. Here, under the walls of his capital, the sultan was forced to give them battle: "two such mighty hosts had not before been arrayed against each other since the day when the spears of Islám were first exalted in Hindústán." The conflict was not of long duration, and victory declared itself in favor of the arms of Alá ud din. The activity of the pursuit gave a lesson to the invaders which sufficed for the time to carry them well out of the country they had looked upon as already conquered.

## VIII.

ON ANGLO-SAXON COINS DISCOVERED AT YORK  
IN THE YEAR 1842.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 26th, 1846.]

FOR the account of this discovery of Anglo-Saxon stycas we are indebted to Mr. Hargrove, of York; who states, that "on Saturday, the twenty-third of April, 1842, as some workmen were digging a drain, in connexion with the Public Rooms then building in St. Leonard's Place, York, and not far from Bootham Bar, they came in contact with the foundations of the old city wall, which formerly passed from the Bar to the multangular tower near St. Mary's Abbey. On striking the spade near the bottom of the said foundation, at a depth of five and a half feet below the surface of the street, they discovered a great number of small coins, much corroded, and which, the workmen said, would have filled a peck measure, there being not less than 10,000 of them. One of the workmen declared that they had been enclosed in a pot, which was broken by a pick-axe. The coins ultimately passed into the hands of Mr. Hewison, the silversmith, who sold them at sixpence each."<sup>1</sup>

A small portion of this discovery was examined by our late Secretary, Mr. C. Roach Smith, and the result laid before the Society in a paper read the 25th of May, 1843, and published, with illustrations, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, No. xxv., pl. 99. In the same paper are com-

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. ii., p. 230.



municated the particulars of a further portion, examined by Mr. Haigh, of Leeds. We have now, by the kindness of Mr. Hargrove, the additional number of 2,258, sent to the British Archæological Association<sup>2</sup> for the purpose of examination; and making together a total number of 3,489 coins from the York discovery.

In the latter parcel we have 531 of Eanred; 919 of Ethelred; 63 of Redulf; 61 of Osberht; 1 of Eanbald; 237 of Vigmund; 23 of Vulfhere; and 423 illegible, or uncertain.

## MONEYERS OF EANRED.

Aldates	Eadvini	Hendilber*
Adulfere*	Eanred	Heardulf
Aelser*	Eordrdæ*	Odilo
Broder	Fordred	Odilo mon
Coenred	Fuldnod*	Monne
Daegberht	Fulcnod	Radulcis, or Gaduteis
Eolnod*	Gadutes	Vulfred
Edenod*	Herred	Wintred.
Eadvulf*		

Only single specimens of the following names occur:—  
Adulfere, Aelser, Daegberht, Eordrdæ, Fuldnod, Hendilber, Heardulf, and Odilo mon; and those marked with an asterisk are new.

## ETHELRED'S MONEYERS.

Aldhere, or Alfhere	Coenred*	Eanwald*
Anfesig	Cunemund	Eaninald*
Anred	Cunenard*	Eardvulf
Aeilred*	Eanred	Eonred*
Bardvulf*	Eanredi*	Edelor mu*
Brother	Eadvini*	Edlebearht*
Ceolhard	Eadvi*	Fordred

<sup>2</sup> The Council of the Association suggested this detailed report being drawn up for the Numismatic Society.

Leofdegn	Vulfred	Vulfric*
Monne	Vandlebearht	Werned
Odilo	Vulfsic*	Wintred.
Ordvulf*		

Single specimens of Bardvulf, Ceolhard, Cunenard, Eonred, Edelor mu, Eaninald, Eanredi, Ordvulf, Vulfric, and Werned. Those with an asterisk are new. One of Fordred has *mon* in addition.

The artists of Ethelred must have taxed their ingenuity for variations in writing his name. We have, in addition to those already published, Edred rex, *Elred rex*, *Ed rex*, Leofdegn, Eaduni,

*Eden rex*, *Edinred*, *Edenred rex*, and *Edylred rex*.  
Eadvini, Eardvulf, Eardvulf, Cuthberht.

Amongst the Hexham coins so fully described and beautifully illustrated by Mr. Adamson, in vol. xxiv. of the *Archæologia*, are figured four specimens of Ethelred, with an animal resembling a hound (pl. xlvii., Nos. 161 to 164). One only of that type occurs in the present parcel; but on it appears, in front of the animal, a trefoil ornament, which is not seen on either of those engraved by Mr. Adamson.



The reason of this figure not appearing in the plate of the *Archæologia*, probably was owing to the imperfect state of the coins, and consequently escaped observation; as, on examining the specimen in the British Museum, I find evident traces of the same figure, though not very distinctly marked.



The trefoil is shewn on two of the sceattæ in Ruding, pl. iii., Nos. 5 and 9; which Mr. Hawkins, in his work on "The Silver Coins of England," has removed, with the others in the same plate, from the kingdom of Kent to that of Northumberland, and the correctness of which removal is corroborated by this fine styca of Ethelred. The trefoil on the Anglo-Saxon coins seems to have been an emblem peculiar to Northumberland, as seen on a penny of Sihtric, in the Pembroke Catalogue, pt. 4, tab. 1; also, on one of Regnald, in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. i., p. 119; and on another of Anlaf, in Hawkins, pl. ix., No. 128.

## MONEYERS OF REDULF.

Aldhere . . . .	3	Brought forward	33
Coened . . . .	11	Monne . . . .	15
Eardulf . . . .	1	Herred . . . .	1
Eoenre . . . .	1	Cuthbearht. . . .	8
Broder . . . .	9	Huaetnodd. . . .	2
Fordred . . . .	8	Uncertain . . . .	4
<hr/>		<hr/>	
Carried forward	33	Total	63

The names of Eardulf, Eoenre, and Broder, are new on the stycas of this monarch.

Very little appears to be known of this sovereign. He is stated to have held the sceptre only a few months, and to have been slain in battle with the Danes. If this statement be correct, Redulf must have been fully occupied during this brief space of time in preparation for defending his kingdom, and resisting his invading enemies; he could have had very little leisure to attend to the details of a coinage. The fact however of so many of his coins being found in the York hoard, and also in that of Hexham, is hardly reconcileable with so short a reign, and leads to a doubt of the accuracy of the meagre account we have of him. Com-

paring the number of his coins with those of Osberht found in the York parcel, I am led to the supposition that history has not furnished us with the true term of Redulf's reign.

## MONEYERS OF OSBERHT.

Banulf	.	.	7	Brought forward	26		
Eanulf	.	.	13	Edelhelm	.	.	2
Eanred	.	.	1	Monne	.	.	13
Ednure	.	.	1	Vineberht	.	.	10
Eduhu	.	.	2	Vulfred	.	.	2
Embrm	.	.	2	Uncertain	.	.	8
<hr/>				<hr/>			
Carried forward				Total			
26				61			

The following names are new, Eanred—Ednure—Eduhu—Embrm—and Vulfred.

A neat, well executed piece, reading ONARS REX. *Rev.* BANULF, may possibly belong to Osberht.

## EANBALD.

It may be worthy of remark that in so large a parcel found in the city of York, the place of the episcopal mint, only one coin of this prelate should occur, though he held the see upwards of thirty years, and for the most part contemporaneously with the sovereign Eanred, of whom we have between five and six hundred specimens.

## MONEYERS OF VIGMUND.

Coenred	.	.	84	Ethelveard	.	.	45
Elfheard	.	.	2	Eoenreo	.	.	1
Edelhelm	.	.	41	Hunlaf	.	.	62



Elfheard is the only new name among this prelate's moneyers.

Three coins of this archbishop have his name and title on both sides; one reads AREP on one side, and IREP on the other, and three specimens occur with the Saxon  $\mathfrak{M}$  on the reverse.

### VULFHRE.

Of this archbishop there are twenty-three coins, all by the same moneyer, Vulfred, and all of the usual type, except one which has four crescents on the reverse, and so far is a new type, and the moneyer's name is doubtful. (See Plate, fig. 6.)

### UNCERTAIN.

Amongst the uncertain we shall place first that singular type figured by Mr. Smith, pl. vi., vol. vii., Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5; of these there are about twenty specimens. On the obverse, according to Mr. Smith, the characters are all very nearly alike; on the reverse, several different names occur, as will appear below. Three bear that of Redulf, and, as we do not know this name as a moneyer on the styca, we should, but for the circumstance of other moneyers' names occurring, have unhesitatingly have given these to the sovereign of this name. As it is, however, I fear we must look further for a proper appropriation. If we take the letters as they stand on the coins, we shall be unable to make out any name satisfactorily, but if they be read as upside down, we may, with the help of a little conjecture, decipher Eardvulf. I suggest, therefore, the possibility of these curious pieces belonging to Heardvulf the predecessor of Eanred.

## VARIETIES OF THIS CURIOUS STYCA.

EV×DDARE—REDVVL<sup>1</sup> two  
 EV+ÐAIRE—EADVINI  
 EV×ÐDARE—BOEN  
                   PIEM  
                   EARHV  
                   DINVL } The same name, one retrograde.  
                   DANID }

The following two of the same class are unexplicable by me:—

EV+DIRE—VIDHEL  
 EV+DIRE—I IENVVLF.

These four moneyers, Ethilveard, Ethelhelm, Eardvulf, and Edilred, are found on both sides of several specimens.

## PIECES WITH TWO MONEYERS' NAMES.

Eardvulf and	Haedath	Edelhelm	and Eidmund
Eardvulf	„ Vidvini	Huea	„ Vieden <sup>3</sup>
Eardvulf	„ Edelhelm	Huea	„ Heocir <sup>3</sup>
Edelhelm	„ Odilo	Odilo mon	„ Vulfsc (fig. 9.)
Edelhelm	„ Vulfred	Vendelberht	„ Odilo (fig. 8)

Amongst the uncertain is a coin that reads VLRED REX.

Though the present parcel does not furnish any piece heretofore unknown, yet it is by no means without interest to the Saxon collector; as it affords some very fine specimens of the coins of Osberht and Vulfherc, which are generally found of coarse workmanship, indifferently preserved, and scarcely legible.

J. D. CUFF.

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<sup>3</sup> These are probably the same.



## IX.

INSCRIPTION ILLUSTRATING THE LEGENDS OF  
THE COINS OF VABALLATHUS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Dec. 24th, 1846.]

DR. LEE announced the following communication from Sir Gardiner Wilkinson.

“At a bridge over the small rivulet called Nahr el Feedár, near Gebayl, on the coast of Syria, is an inscription upon a broken column containing the names of Zenobia and her son Vaballathus, which, I believe, has not been noticed by travellers who preceded me. It was, unfortunately, nearly dark when I passed it, and from the imperfect light and decayed condition of the stone, I had some difficulty in decyphering it. The upper part is lost, and the last letters of some lines are defaced; sufficient, however, remains to show that it was a dedication to one of the Roman Emperors, either Claudius or Aurelian, and to Zenobia the mother of the Emperor Vaballathus, the son of Athenodorus, apparently by a proconsul whose name is in the first remaining line.

“The inscription is as follows:—

. . . . . ὩΝ  
 ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤ . . . . . ΙΑ  
 ΑΝΕΙΚΗΤΩC ΕΒΑCΤΩ  
 ΚΑΙCΕΙΤΙ . . . ΑΖΗΝΟΒΙΑ  
 CΕΒΑCΤΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ  
 ΤΟΥ ΑΤΤΗΤΟΥΙ...  
 ΚΡΑΤΟΡΟCΟΥ ΑΒΑΛΛΑ...  
 ΑΘΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ....

“The name of Athenodorus in the last line is important from its showing that Vaballathus was not, as usually sup-

posed, the son of Odenathus and Zenobia, but of her first husband. Another point of importance (to which my attention was first directed by Colonel Leake) is, that the name Athenodorus clears up the question long agitated respecting the word ΑΘΗΝΥ or ΑΘΗΝΟΥ, in the legends on the coins of Vaballathus, and this renders the inscription particularly interesting to numismatists. We also learn from it that Vaballathus reigned at Palmyra conjointly with his mother Zenobia, after the death of Odenathus; and did not 'receive for the first time the title of Autocrat when made ruler of a small province in Armenia.'<sup>1</sup> The claim, too, to that honour thus appears to have been greater than we have been led to suppose; and the Roman conqueror, when he failed to capture the son of Zenobia, deserved less credit for generosity in continuing to him the imperial title in a small and remote province.

"GARDINER WILKINSON."

"August 14th, 1844."

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<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, c. xi.



## MISCELLANEOUS.

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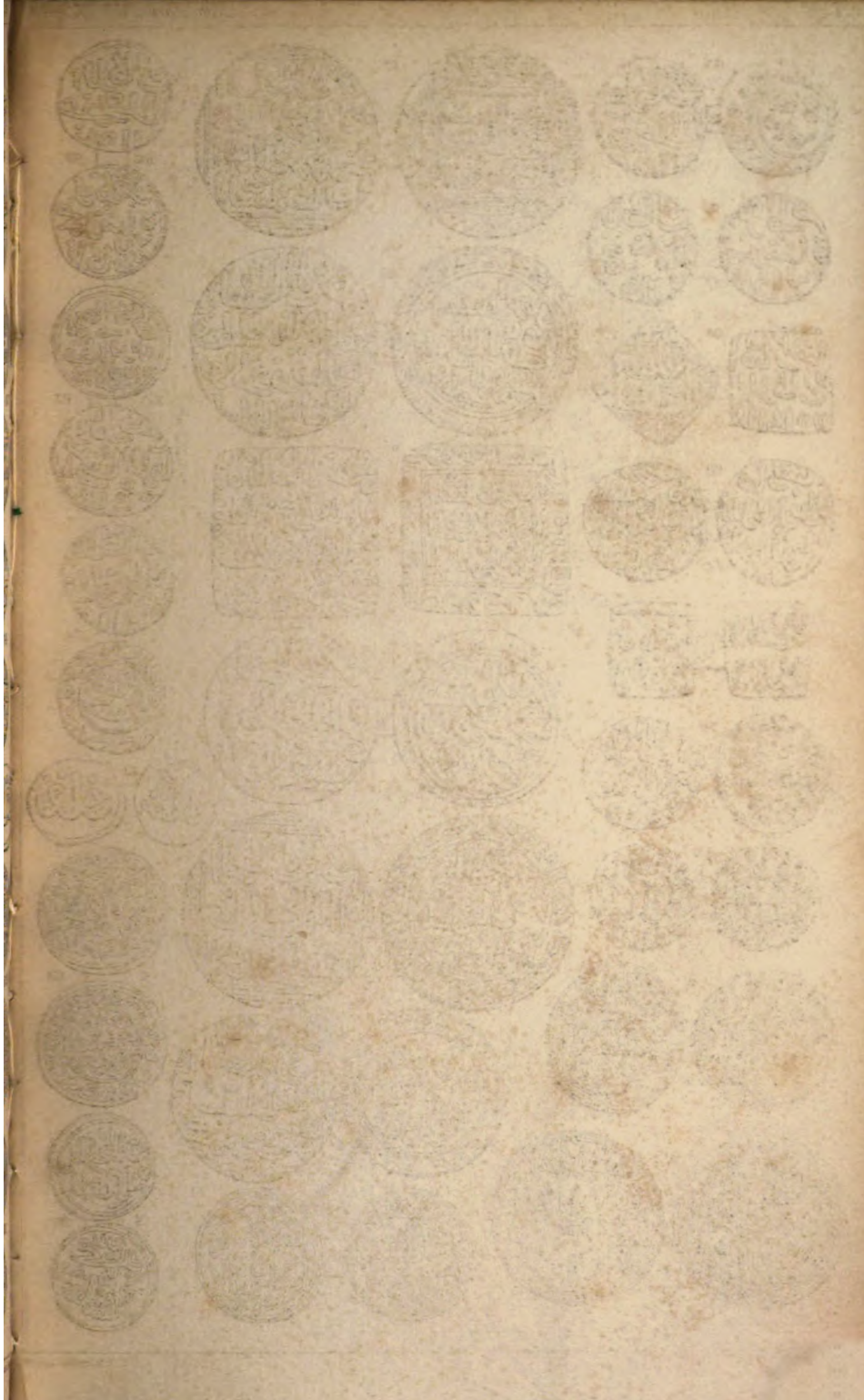
The *Revue de Rouen* speaks of the discovery, at Caudebec-les-Elbœuf, a locality abounding in Roman remains, of 8,100 Roman coins, deposited in an earthen vase, covered with a tile. Of these, 6,800 are of Postumus; of the remainder, one half of Gallienus and Salonina; the other half, of Gordian III., Philip, father and son, Otacilia, Trajanus Decius, Etruscilla, Trebonianus, Gallus, Volusian, Valerian, Saloninus, Valerian the younger, and Victorinus. The most recent is a coin of Claudius Gothicus. All are stated to be in billon. Among the less common of these coins are one each of Æmilian, Cornelia Supera (R. VESTA), Quietus, and Lælianus; four of Marius; and two of Mariniana. They have been secured for the Rouen Museum.















DN MAV · C R P P A V G

JEWELLED COIN OF THE EMPEROR MAURICIUS.

FOUND AT BACTON, NORFOLK.

1846-

*Drawn & engraved by F.W. Fairholt. F.S.A.*

X.

OBSERVATIONS ON A JEWELLED COIN OF THE  
EMPEROR MAURICE, FOUND ON THE 31<sup>ST</sup> OF  
DECEMBER, 1845, AT BACTON, NEAR CROMER,  
NORFOLK.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 28th, 1847.]

NORWICH, October 30th, 1846.

Gentlemen,

You are doubtless aware that an enchased gold coin, bearing on its obverse an imperial portrait, and a legend similar to some of those which Banduri and others assign, with confident unanimity, to *Mauricius Tiberius*,<sup>1</sup> was found about ten months ago at Bacton, on the coast of Norfolk, and has since been presented by Miss Gurney, of North Repps Cottage, in the same county, to the British Museum.

Having had my attention called to the circumstances under which this interesting relic of antiquity was brought to light, and placed in the hands of a lady whose intelligence and discrimination were a sure guarantee for its immediate safety, and the most judicious regard for its future preservation, I am induced to hope that the following notice of the subject will not prove wholly unacceptable to the Numismatic Society—particularly as my humble remarks will have the advantage of being accompanied with a graphic illustration, from the pencil and by the etching needle of an able artist, himself a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and a member of your council.

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<sup>1</sup> Emperor of the East, son-in-law and immediate successor of Tiberius (II.) Constantinus; proclaimed Augustus, A.D. 582, and murdered by the usurper Phocas, at Constantinople, A.D. 602.



This specimen of the ancient *monilia numismatica* was picked up by a poor woman, on her way from the village of Bacton to that of Mundsley, as it lay on the beach near high water mark, imbedded in a branch of sea-weed.—It consists of a small gold piece of money, surrounded by a circular border of the same precious metal, measuring about an inch and a half in diameter. The setting is composed of thirty-eight cells, irregular in their forms, and of different sizes; twenty of these are filled with bits of red coloured stone (probably garnet). The remaining cavities are empty. The annexed engraving distinctly shows the spaces which are devoid of stones; the irregularity of their form is doubtless owing to the broken and damaged thin plates that separate each, having been twisted by violence. The *belière*, or loop, by which ornamental articles of this kind were evidently meant to be suspended, exhibits on the front side a braided or chain pattern, of elaborate and not inelegant workmanship, which also extends itself over the reverse side. With the exception of the loop the back part of the jewel is quite plain; the border encircling the coin but leaving its reverse open to view. On the side of the portrait the inner rim is raised a little above the level of the medal. The outer rim is enriched with an interlaced pattern, corresponding to that on the loop.

The custom of setting gold coins and medallions, in a circular or octagonal frame, of the same metal, may be traced to an early period of the Augustan History. This custom became more and more common in the lower ages, especially under the Byzantine emperors, and was *imitated* long after the western division of the Roman world had fallen a prey to incursions from the great northern hive of nations. The *entourage* of these medals is ornamented with in-layings of either red or blue coloured glass,

or, like the one found at Bacton, with stones, such as sapphires or garnets. But whilst the obverses of these coins are thus surrounded with enrichments, the backs of them offer only a plain smooth surface, through which the reverse of the medal exhibits itself—a sign, perhaps, that the wearing such jewelled portraiture was intended as a compliment to the reigning prince, or at least to the imperial throne, as a mark of loyalty and devotedness.

The late M. Steinbüchel, in his observations on certain Roman gold medallions in the imperial cabinet at Vienna,<sup>2</sup> many of them of extraordinary size and elaborateness of workmanship, of the highest rarity, and in the finest preservation, says—

“En examinant ces médaillons, on peut observer qu'ils ne sont en partie que *des médailles d'or de la grandeur ordinaire, qui n'excèdent les dimensions communes qu'à l'aide d'enchassures dont elles sont ornées* [the jewelled coin found at Bacton agrees precisely with this description], et que même les autres médaillons d'un coin effectivement plus grand ont presque tous une semblable enchassure. Il est évident que *tous ces médaillons étaient destinés à être suspendus*, les anneaux, qui sont plus forts à mesure que les médaillons sont plus pesants, démontrent que tout était calculé, même l'effet d'un frottement continu.”

These medals represent the heads of the emperors Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, Caracalla, Carus and Carinus, Maximianus Hercules, Constantine the Great, Constantius the younger, Valens, Valentinian the younger, and Gratian. Adding to these the pieces preserved in

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<sup>2</sup> Notice sur les Médaillons Romains en Or, trouvés en Hongrie, dans les années 1797 and 1805, par Ant. Steinbüchel, Directeur du Musée, I R. etc., etc.



other museums, and published by different authors, an almost unbroken series of gold medallions is formed, even to nearly the end of the empire — “avec cette particularité (adds M. Steinbüchel), que plus l'empire Romain allait en décadence, plus ces médaillons grandissaient, de manière qu'il paraît qu'on en recherchait toujours plus le mérite à raison de leur poids.”

The rings, or loops, attached to most of these coin-loquets, and the hooks fixed at the backs of others, clearly shew that they were designed to be suspended from the neck, or to be fastened to the dress, as decorations of honour. In their original destination, those legends and types were in preference chosen, which related to specific records of great victories, or to solemn vows for the health of the emperor, or to the election of one of the Cæsars to the consulate. Afterwards, and especially when the empire, bereft of its glories, sunken low in degradation, and tottering to its fall, had few if any events but those of disaster to commemorate, little or no discrimination was observed in the choice of types and legends for bordered coins, provided they were gold, and bore “the image and superscription” of the reigning prince, or of some other imperial personage. But the ancient custom probably continued to be kept up, in conformity to which they were made to serve as presents from the emperor to his friends and courtiers; or (what was of infinitely more pressing importance, when invasions of barbarians became more and more overwhelming) to be distributed, in all sizes, but almost always with looped mountings, either as military rewards (*dona militaria*), wherewith to honour those imperial officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves by their valour and fidelity; or as splendid, and in some cases very costly, gratifications, by means of which it was vainly

sought to buy off or conciliate the kings and other chiefs of the dreaded northmen.

And now, with regard to the coin itself: this is of the ordinary module of the *aureus*, and quite equal, in point of fabric, to most of the gold money minted under the reigns of much earlier Byzantine emperors than Mauricius. On the obverse both legend and type are perfect. The letters, though rudely fashioned and differing in size from each other, are distinctly marked. On the reverse, the type and also the inscription are in some places worn, in others effaced. On the whole its state of preservation is good—indeed surprisingly so, if there be valid reasons for supposing that it has been subjected for ages to the abrasive action of the waters and sands of the sea.

As will be perceived, on inspection of the accompanying plate, the coin has for the legend of its obverse DNMAV. CRPPAVC; and for type, the head of the emperor, with diadem, the breast being covered with the *paludamentum*. For legend of reverse it bears VICTO[RIA] AVCCV (*Augustorum*), between is CONOB inscribed backwards.<sup>3</sup> The type is a globe with a cross upon it. In the field, on the right of the cross, M, on the left A. The double C, meant of course for GG, doubtless refers to Theodosius, son of Mauricius, declared *Augustus* by his father, A. D. 590. The other constituents of the reverse need no comment. But the legend of the obverse presents, in the way of a satisfactory interpretation, difficulties which I do not pretend to have

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<sup>3</sup> Besides this reversal, another rather unusual feature will be noticed, viz. that instead of being divided from the type by an exergue, the letters CONOB are separated from VICTORIA on one side and AVCCV on the other by two short double lines, slanting towards each other, thus: "CONOB".



succeeded in removing—yet I shall venture, as briefly as possible, to submit what has occurred to me in the attempt to unravel this little numismatic mystery; appealing, as I do, in a Horatian spirit, to the indulgent candour of many among the members of your learned body, whose superior competency for such a task will, I trust, be equalled by their readiness to impart correct information, on points whereon I am conscious of my own deficiencies; but at the same time no less freely inviting them to participate in the use of whatever suggestions of mine may be found at all entitled to their consideration.

We see on the obverse of this coin DNMAV followed by a *dot*, then there is a space nearly filled up by the top of the diademed head; next appears another *dot*, or round point, close after which come the letters CRPPAVC (*see the accompanying plate*). The C, supposing it to have been meant for one, looks like a semi-oval lump, with an indent in its centre, so uncouthly is it formed. The mark *after* the first V, and that *before* the first C, are perfect *dots*, bold, clear, well-defined, and in high relief. Are they to be regarded as punctuations? I confess that I am not inclined to adopt such an opinion. If these dots were intended for divisional marks, why should not similar ones appear between DN, and between PP and AVG? or how does it happen that a point should, as in this case, be placed *before* a letter? But, in fact, how very seldom it is that, on the finest and largest medals, even of the earlier Cæsars, still less frequently, if ever, on imperial coins of the lower ages, one sees points employed between either words or initial letters. That such resemblances to stops, as those which are so conspicuous on the Bacton *Mauricius*, are to be set down as mere imperfections in the striking, is

a supposition to which their raised and decided appearance opposes itself as an objection scarcely to be surmounted. And far is it beyond the reach of my experience to account for these *phenomena*, unless *they* also may with propriety be numbered among the manifold, gross, and eccentric errors perpetrated by ancient die-sinkers, especially those who exercised their much-abused vocation under the Byzantine dynasties.

To shew the way in which this "blundering" propensity was suffered to run riot through the products of the later imperial mints, it may, from almost innumerable instances of a similar kind, be cited, that PPAVG is sometimes by transposition made PPVAG, at other times, by omission of a letter, it stands PPVG. So much for *titular* abbreviations; and as for the liberties taken with *names* of personages, we find that of this very same Mauricius, disguised under the following varieties, viz. MARICI — MARAI — MAKK, etc. (see Banduri.) Nor indeed must we wonder at anything that betrays either slovenly carelessness or barbarous ignorance in the mistakes of moneyers, during the wretchedly degenerate age to which reference is here made.

It has been suggested that the two *dots* in question are letters R and I, which failed in striking, and that, supplying those letters, the legend should be read DN  $\infty$ ARIC PP AVC. But such a mode of interpretation I consider wholly untenable; in the first place, because it does not explain the CR, and, in the next place, because the minutest scrutiny results in proving that what appear as small *dots*, resembling stops, are too perfect, too fully brought out, to be regarded as anything else. On the other hand, I submit that no interpretation, capable of bearing the test of comparison with numismatic facts, can, on the hypothesis



of their being *initials*, be given to the letters CR,<sup>4</sup> as they stand together on the obverse of the specimen before us.

Banduri, Eckhel, Mionnet, and Akerman furnish, in their respective lists of inscriptions, copied from the *aurei* of Mauricius, the following, among many other varieties, viz :—

DN M̅AV  
M̅AVRIC TIBER PP AVC  
M̅AVRI TIBER PP AVG

And Mr. Akerman's kindness enables me to add M̅AVRICI TB PPA, a curious form of the legend given by M. De Saulcy, from a gold coin of the same emperor, in the *Soleicol* cabinet.

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<sup>4</sup> That these letters, occurring, as they do in the present instance, on an imperial coin of the *sixth* century, are to be looked upon as initials, is a conjecture which will not, I apprehend, meet with any support from good authorities. C R is allowed to mean *Colonia Romana*. And Hardouin affirms the same collocation of those two letters to signify *Claritas Reipublicæ*. But there are no examples in which that legend is written otherwise than at full length, as is seen on coins of Constantius junior, and of Constans, and even on them, *not* as part of the inscription of the head, but (like *Salus Reipublicæ*, or *Spes Reipublicæ*, or *Securitas Reipublicæ*), as the exclusive legend of the reverse. Besides which, all allusion to the *Res Publica* on imperial coins, seems to have ceased after the reign of Romulus Augustus, A.D. 476. Then, as to whether the C before the R denotes *Cæsar*? I believe the letter C will not be found employed for any such designation, either by itself, or conjoined with any other initial, on medals of the imperial series *subsequent* to Jovian and Valentinian (A.D. 363 and 364). *Prior* to the reigns of the two last named emperors, the initials N C (*Nobilissimus Cæsar*) are of constant recurrence, as is well known, on coins of the western empire, and may be traced back as far as Numerianus (A.D. 282), perhaps further still. The C, however, in all such cases, is immediately preceded by N. But even if it be admitted, that *here* C means *Cæsar*, how is its next door neighbour, R, to be interpreted? To me, it appears evident that C R are *not initials*.

Here we have some remarkable examples of that intermixture of Greek with Roman alphabetical characters, in the same legend, which, about the end of the *sixth* century, began to be adopted on money of the Eastern empire, and which gradually resulted in the almost entire exclusion of *Latin* letters from the legends and inscriptions of coins struck under the Byzantine princes.

In the medal found at Bacton, not only have we to deal with those two little stumbling-blocks of *dots* already spoken of, but there is also a more material circumstance to encounter, viz., that the upper part of the head and diadem of the portrait occupies too much of the space between  $\mathfrak{MAV}$ . and  $\cdot CR$  to leave room enough for additional letters. Were it not for this two-fold impediment, and the last named in particular, a solution of the difficulty might not unsatisfactorily be found in the supposition, that the letter which precedes the R was meant for a Greek *epsilon*, instead of a Roman  $\bar{C}$ ; and that, consequently, the reading should be thus:—

DN  $\mathfrak{MAV}$  [Tib]ER PP AVC

*Dominus Noster Mauricius Tiberius Perpetuus Augustus.*

There is, however, among the numerous *gold* coins of this emperor, described by Banduri (Impp. Rom. vol. ii. pp. 664 *et seq.*), one that agrees in both types, and (on the portrait side) *letter for letter*, with the obverse *legend* on the coin of the Bacton jewel, but in which, unlike that coin, there are no *dots* inserted. It is as follows:—

“*Obv.*—DN  $\mathfrak{MAV}$  CRPPAVC (*sic*). Caput Mauricii, cum coronâ ex margaritis, ad pectus cum paludamentum.

“*R.*—VICTORIA AVCCV (*sic*), circa coronam lauream, in cujus medio globus, supra quem crux: à dextris M, à sinistris  $\Lambda$ : in imâ parte CONOB.”

VOL. IX.

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According to Eckhel's catalogue, the imperial cabinet at Vienna contains a *gold* Mauricius, bearing for legend of the head DN MAVRC TIB PPA. Here then we find the R placed *before* the C, a position which assimilates that part of the legend more closely with MAVRIC, and with MAVRICI, the most frequent modes of styling Mauricius on his coins. Now, being of opinion that the letters MAV, though on the Bacton medal widely apart from the letters CR, yet form *with them* only one abbreviated word, and also that the last two are transposed by a mistake of the *monetarius*, I come therefore to the conclusion, that the legend in question is, with the greater probability of correctness, to be read, notwithstanding the two dots—

DN MAV. .CR PP AVC<sup>5</sup>

*Dominus Noster Mauricius Perpetuus Augustus.*

And now, it is high time that I should leave, as best becomes me, the decision upon readings and interpretations, under present discussion, to those who are so much better qualified, in all respects, than myself, to distinguish and point out the true from the erroneous. I cannot, however, conclude a task, undertaken with diffidence and unsatisfactorily performed, without stating that the primary motive for the attempt was a desire to testify my appreci-

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<sup>5</sup> Fröelich, in his 4th Tentamen, observes, "PPA vel PPAVC, Perpetuus Augustus, vel *Pius* Perpetuus Augustus, inferioribus seculis legenda esse, historicorum et veterum inscriptionum esse convenit." As *Perpetuus Augustus*, the interpretation is fully certified by a bronze medallion of Mauricius, inscribed DN MAVRICI PERP. AVG. The epithet *Perpetuus* seems to have been prefixed to the title of Augustus, for the *first* time, in the mint of Constans I. (A.D. 337), and successively appears on coins of Constantius II., Julian II., Jovian, Valens, Avitus, Zeno, Nepos, etc.

ative respect for a Society to which, from its first foundation, I have had the unmerited honour to belong. My next principal inducement has been, that I might establish for myself some ground of pretension for tendering, as I do with great pleasure, to the acceptance of the President and Council, Mr. Fairholt's plate (finely engraved after his own accurate design) representing one of the rarest and most valuable antiques, in its peculiar class, lately rescued from oblivion, under circumstances scarcely less extraordinary than fortunate, and now, through the medium of private liberality, placed in permanent safe-keeping, with facility of access, amongst the treasures of our greatest public museum. Truly glad shall I be, if "my weak words," on the descriptive points, may, by drawing attention to the ornamental features of so remarkable a curiosity, prove the means of eliciting from others of our Society (whom I could name as practically conversant with such interesting objects of archæological research) some illustrative remarks on the characteristics of Roman, and of Byzantine jewellery, in comparison with that of Saxon, or of Danish workmanship — those remarks having especial reference to the custom of enchasing gold coins and medallions for purposes of personal adornment, and of honorary distinction.

I remain, with unfeigned esteem,

Gentlemen,

Most faithfully yours,

SETH WILLIAM STEVENSON, F.S.A.

*To the Secretaries of the Numismatic Society.*

P.S.—I am informed, that the Numismatic authorities of the British Museum consider the little treasure-trove of ancient art, which forms the subject of the foregoing



observations, to be an Anglo-Saxon ornament, and the coin in its centre to be a *cast*, made from a gold coin of the Emperor Maurice.

Against any portion of the judgment thus pronounced, it would be presumptuous to set up my opinion. I noted on *some* parts of the coin a *roundness* of angle, in other words, a deficiency of sharpness in the *relievo* of the types, and in the edges of the letters. But this, as numismatists well know, is an appearance equally perceptible on not a few pieces of whose antiquity and genuineness no doubts are entertained; whilst there are *other* parts of the medal, which seemed to me as forcibly brought out as the process of *striking* could possibly have effected. My own suspicions, therefore, were unawakened. But if it be a *cast*, then my humble impression, influenced by authentic accounts of recent discoveries made both in this country, and in France,<sup>6</sup> would lead me to look upon it, as one, for the guilt of forging which the monetal officers of some more or less distant successor of Mauricius Tiberius, most probably in some state emergency, made themselves answerable. At any rate, it is much too *good* a *cast*, I think, to have been produced from such a mould as any artificer of the northern nations, during the middle ages, possessed enough of the *falsarius's* cleverness to construct and apply to the coinage of money. Then, as to the setting of this medal, I see the form and pattern of its loop, together with its exhibition of the reverse, as well as the portrait side, so exactly like the small gold coins from Hadrian and the Antonines to Caracalla and Alexander Severus downwards to Valens, converted by their circular

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<sup>6</sup> See "Observations on Roman Coin Moulds" in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Vol. I. p. 147, *et seq.*, by the Rev. J. B. Reade, M.A.

frames of the same precious metal into a *sort* of medallion (specimens of which are engraved in the *Catalogue d'Ennery*, and in Steinbüchel's dissertation on the Hungarian *trouvailles*), and noting this, I am, with all deference, still disposed to regard the *aureus* in question as owing its encircling garniture to imperial Byzantine (or to Italian) taste and skill, such as it then was; in other words, to the men of the east, or of the west, rather than to the men of the north. And certainly, whether cast in a mould or struck from a die, the coin itself, with respect both to its types and legends, appeared to me of a very different and altogether superior style and fabric, to those *barbarous* imitations of the gold mintages of Greek emperors, which are ascribed to the Anglo-Saxons, and to the Danes.

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XI.

## UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL GREEK COINS.

*Ninth Notice.\**

By H. P. BORRELL, Esq.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 26th, 1846.]

## CARIA.

## ALABANDA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΑΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ. Tripod; the whole in a laurel wreath.

AR. 6. (*My possession.*)

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\* The publication of this notice has been delayed till now, on account of the first copy having miscarried on its way from Smyrna to England, a circumstance which the writer regrets, as some few of the coins have been published in the interval by others. The writer, moreover, has to regret the loss of several drawings of some of the most interesting coins, which accompanied the original paper, a loss which in some cases is irreparable.—Smyrna, Dec. 1846.



This is the only instance known of a deviation from the usual reverse of the Pegasus on the silver currency of Alabanda.

## ALINDA.

No. 1.—Youthful head, laureate.

R.—ΑΛΙΝΔ. Pegasus flying, to the right. Æ. 3.  
(*Brit. Mus. from my col.*)

2.—Head of Hercules, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. Quiver, the whole within a wreath of oak leaves. Æ. 3. (*Same col., from same.*)

3.—Same head.

R.—ΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ. Club. Æ. 1. (*My cabinet.*)

The Pegasus occurs on a unique coin in silver, in the cabinet of M. Grivaud de la Vincelle, cited by Mionnet,<sup>1</sup> but is new on the copper money. The other two are varieties; the last, only as regards its size.

Ada, queen of Caria, and widow of Hidrieus, whose dominions were usurped by Pixodarus, was residing at Alinda, when Alexander the Great was besieging Halicarnassus. She surrendered her rights to the conqueror, who, after the defeat of the Carian king, generously restored to her the government of the country.

## AMYZA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΜΥΖΕΩΝ. Female head, surrounded with long tresses of hair, to the right. Æ. 4. (*Brit. Mus. from my cabinet.*)

2.—Head of Diana, the quiver over her shoulder, to the right.

R.—ΑΜΥΖΩΝΕΩΝ. Torch. Æ. 3. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

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<sup>1</sup> Supp. vi. p. 443, No. 44.

These, I believe, are the first coins that have yet been published of Amyza. Apollo and Diana are the deities represented upon them; but I am at a loss to determine to whom the female head on the reverse of No. 1, can be attributed. The flat nose, thick lips, and general form of the features, seem to indicate a negress. There is a remarkable variety in the orthography of the legends on the two coins. On the most ancient, No. 2, the name of the people is written  $\text{AMY}\Xi\text{ONE}\Omega\text{N}$ , which agrees with the orthography used in an inscription found in the ruins of the city, copied by Mr. Hamilton;<sup>2</sup> on the other is  $\text{AMYZE}\Omega\text{N}$ ; this, however, is not unfrequent on Greek coins: we find  $\text{ATTAAE}\Omega\text{N}$  and  $\text{ATTAAEAT}\Omega\text{N}$  on coins of Attalia, in Pamphylia; and  $\text{TOMIT}\Omega\text{N}$  and  $\text{TOMITHN}\Omega\text{N}$  on others of Tomi in Mœsia.<sup>3</sup>

Ptolemy,<sup>4</sup> Pliny,<sup>5</sup> and Strabo,<sup>6</sup> mention Amyza as an unimportant town of Caria. Col. Leake<sup>7</sup> says, "it was situated on the East side of Mount Latmos," and remarks, that the ruins of the citadel and town walls still exist.

## ANTIOCHIA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.— $\text{ANTIOXE. MEAE.}$  An ox lying down; beneath, are represented the windings of the Meander; the whole within a laurel wreath. AR. 4. grs.  $60\frac{1}{2}$ .

(*Brit. Mus. from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head, to the left.

R.— $\text{ANTIOXE}\Omega\text{N. XPY}\Sigma\text{OTONOY.}$  Pegasus flying to the right. AR. 8. (*My cabinet.*)

<sup>2</sup> Leake's Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, p. 238.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Le Bond, Observations sur quelques Médailles du Cabinet de Pellerin, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. v. cap. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Lib. v. cap. 29.

<sup>6</sup> Lib. xiv. p. 658.

<sup>7</sup> Loc. cit. p. 237.



This Antiochia was named "*ad Mæandrum*," to distinguish it from several other cities of the same name, founded by the Syro-Macedonian kings. It owed its origin and its name to Antiochus, son of Seleucus Nicator. Some authors are of opinion, it pre-existed under the name of Pythopolis;<sup>8</sup> but others assert it to have been a new city, peopled by the inhabitants of two older towns, Seminethos and Cranaos.<sup>9</sup>

Pellerin is of opinion,<sup>10</sup> that the coins similar to my No. 2, were struck at Alabanda. Any one who compares them with those coins, in every respect the same as regards type and fabric, the only difference being the legend ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ instead of ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, must admit Pellerin's hypothesis to be highly probable. I, for one, am disposed to believe he is correct; more particularly as we learn from Stephanus that the Alabandians did change the name of their city for a short time, and adopted that of Antiochia, doubtless in deference to the son of Seleucus, the same who founded Antiochia, as alluded to above. But a stronger proof of the identity of the coins reading indifferently *Antiochia* and *Alabanda*, is, that all the three, and the only three, magistrates' names that figure on the tetradrachms, assigned by Mionnet to Antiochia,<sup>11</sup> and in fact, reading *Antiochia*, are found also upon the coins of Alabanda: these three names are ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗΣ, ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣ, and ΜΕΝΕΥΘΕΥΣ.<sup>12</sup>

If, then, Pellerin's opinion should ultimately prevail, my coin No. 1 will become important, as it will remain the only silver coin which positively belongs to Antiochia ad Mæandrum.

<sup>8</sup> Steph. Byz. *Αντιόχεια*.

<sup>9</sup> Pliny, Hist. Nat. lib. v. cap. 29.

<sup>10</sup> Mélanges, tom. i. p. 139.

<sup>11</sup> Tom. iii. p. 313, Nos. 53, 54, and 55.

<sup>12</sup> Tom. iii. p. 305.

## APOLLONIA.

No. 1.—ΔΗΜΟC. Youthful male head, to the right.

R.—ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ. Bacchus standing, in his right hand a bunch of grapes, and in his left, the thyrsus.  
Æ. 5. (*My cabinet.*)

It is not always easy to class, with any degree of certainty, coins bearing the name of Apollonia; the style of work of the above sufficiently declares its Carian origin.

## BARGASA.

Combe, in his catalogue of the Hunterian Museum, ascribes a coin to this city as follows:

"No. 1.—ΔΗΜΟC ::::::::::: Caput imberbe vitta redimitum ad d.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΑΥΡ. ΖΗΝΩΝΟC. ΒΑΡ. Jupiter stans ad s. d. aquilam s. hastem. Æ. 8½. *Tab. XII. fig. 29.*"

See also Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 333, No. 177. In his Supplement, tom. vi. p. 475, Mionnet withdraws it from Bargasa and places it to Maeonia in Lydia. He says in a note, "Nous avons rapporté d'après Combe une médaille de bronze de Musée de Hunter, dont la légende a été mal lue, l'attribution donnée à cette médaille est fautive: elle appartient à Maeonia de Lydie." He consequently places it to Maeonia in his tom. iv. p. 64, No. 329; and he reads the legend on the obverse ΔΗΜΟC ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ.<sup>13</sup> Both versions, however, are incorrect: the coin belongs neither to Bargasa nor to Maeonia, but to Aezanis in Phrygia, as is proved by the following coin, which is now before me in the finest possible preservation.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Sestini, *Descriz.* p. 451.



No. 1.—ΔΗΜΟC. ΑΙΖΑΝΕΤΩΝ. Youthful head to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΑΥΡ. ΖΗΝΩΝΟC. Β. ΑΡ. Jupiter standing as above.

It is evident Combe's coin was badly preserved, Mionnet's probably not much better; the former did not remark the separation between the letters Β. ΑΡ. which he presumed referred to the name of Bargasa, instead of their real meaning of second Archon (*Β. Αρχοντος*).

#### CALYNDA.

No. 1.—Head of Diana to the right, bow and quiver over her shoulder.

R.—ΚΑΛΥ. Stag, standing, to the right. Æ. 2. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head.

R.—ΚΑΛΥΝ. Fore part of a stag to the right. Æ. 2. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

A single bronze coin is all that was previously known of this city, published by Sestini<sup>14</sup> and Mionnet,<sup>15</sup> from the collection of Mr. Elliot, which exhibits types entirely different from these two of mine.

Calynda must have been situated upon the borders of Caria and of Lycia, as some ancient authors assign its position in one, and some in the other of those provinces.<sup>16</sup> The coins partake more of the Lycian than the Carian character, both as regards fabric and the religious emblems they bear. All the symbols on the two coins above cited

<sup>14</sup> Classes Gener. Edit. ii. p. 87.

<sup>15</sup> Supp. tom. vi. p. 478, No. 204.

<sup>16</sup> Strabo, lib. xiv. p. 651; Ptol. lib. v. cap. 3; Pliny, lib. v. cap. 27; Steph. Byz. *Κάλυνδα*.

refer to Diana: she and Apollo being the principal Lycian deities. Herodotus<sup>17</sup> mentions a king of Calynda who was sunk in his galley by the celebrated Artemisia at the battle of Salamis.

## CAUNUS.

No. 1.—Bull, butting, to the right.

R.—KAY. Sphinx, sitting, to the right. Æ. 3. (*British Museum, and my cabinet.*)

2.—Bull as last; above, a wreath.

R.—As last. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—Fore part of a bull to the right.

R.—As last. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

Similar coins to the above were first published by M. Streber,<sup>18</sup> who assigns them to an unedited numismatic city, Canæ in Æolia; but, upon both his specimens, the last letter was illegible, as he reads KA instead of KAY. There were several cities named Caunus; but I have attributed my coins to the one in Caria, as these and others have been procured of late years from that province, and from Lycia, through a Greek merchant captain, who constantly traded between the island of Rhodes and the main coast opposite.

Caunus was a dependency of Rhodes,<sup>19</sup> and the birth-place of the celebrated painter Protogenus.

The learned numismatist, M. Streber, compared these coins with those of Gergitha, in Troas, on which is the Sphynx, but that fabulous animal is also frequently seen

<sup>17</sup> Lib. viii. cap. 87.

<sup>18</sup> Numismata nonnulla Græca, ex Mus. Reg. Bav. p. 200, tab. iii. figs. 6 et 7.

<sup>19</sup> Pliny, lib. v. cap. 3.



on the money of Prenessus, in Caria, and of Perga, in Pamphylia.<sup>20</sup>

## ERIZA.

No. 1.—€P. Bipennis.

R.—Trident. Æ. 1½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet*).

Eriza was situated in Caria, on the river Chaos. It was taken by assault by Manlius during the war with the Gallo-Græci.<sup>21</sup> Pellerin<sup>22</sup> has published the only coin previously supposed to belong to this city; but his attribution is justly doubted by numismatists. Judging from his engraving the legend appears imperfect; his principal motive for classing it to Eriza was the word KAOC on the obverse, which he imagined referred to the name of the river Chaos.<sup>23</sup>

My coin was brought from Nazlee, the ancient Nysa in Caria; the fabric is essentially Carian, as is the type of the Bipennis, which is a symbol of the worship of Jupiter Labrandæus, seen upon the majority of the money of this province.

EURALIUM.<sup>24</sup>

Mionnet, in his Supp. vi. p. 489, No. 262, cites, for the first time, a unique coin of Euralium, and quotes M. de Cadalvene as the possessor. This is an error: it was, and

<sup>20</sup> See Sestini, Lett. Num. Cont. t. vii. p. 81, Nos. 1, 4; Mionnet, Supp. tom. vi. p. 534, Nos. 473, 474, in Prenessus; and Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 460, No. 75, in Perga.

<sup>21</sup> Livius, lib. xxxviii. cap. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Rec. tom. ii. page 123, tab. lxvi. fig. 27; Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 345, No. 248.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Eckhel, D. N. V. tom. ii. p. 581.

<sup>24</sup> The same as the Euranium of Pliny.

still is, in the rich collection of M. Garreri, of Smyrna. I take this opportunity to say that Mionnet has given a wrong description of this rare coin: the figure on the reverse is not Hercules Bibax. As the coin is now before me, the following inscription may be depended upon:—

No. 1.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. Α. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. C. Laureated head of Caracalla, to the right, paludum.

R.—ΕΥΡΑΛΕΩΝ. Bacchus standing to the left, wearing the Pallium, the cantharus in his right hand, and the thyrsus in his left. Æ. 4.

#### EUROMUS.

No. 1.—Jupiter Labrandæus, standing front face; the Bipennis in his right hand, and the hasta in his left.

R.—ΕΥΡΩΜΕΩΝ. ΠΟΛΕ. Stag standing. Æ. 4.  
(*My cabinet.*)

This is an unedited variety of a coin of Euromus, a Carian city of small importance.

#### EVIPPE.

No. 1.—Profile of Diana, to the right; bow and quiver over her shoulder, counter-marked with star.

R.—ΕΥΙΠΠΕΩΝ ΔΕCCT. Bowcase. Æ. 2. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head.

R.—ΕΥΙΠΠΕΩ. Pegasus, flying to the right. Æ. 4.  
(*Private collection.*)

The coins of this city are of excessive rarity: only two, and those imperial, are published; no autonomous coins were previously known. Another coin of this type is in the collection of Mr. Sams.

Evippe is denominated, by Stephanus, a village of Caria: it is the same as the Evhippe of Pliny.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Lib. v. cap. 29.



## HALICARNASSUS.

No. 1.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—An animal resembling a panther, sitting to the left, his right paw lifted up. AR. 5. grs. 143 $\frac{3}{4}$ . (*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—Two oblong indentures parallel to each other, separated by a broad bar. AR. 1. grs. 11. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

3.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙ. Fore part of a goat to the right, the whole within a sunk circle. AR. 1. grs. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

4.—Head of Medusa, front face.

R.—ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ. ΜΟΣ. Head of Pallas helmeted, to the right. AR. 4. grs. 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (*Bank of England, and my cabinet.*)

5.—Another similar, but reading ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑ. ΜΟΧΧΟC, AR. 4. grs. 56 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

6.—Laureated head of Apollo, front face.

R.—ΑΛΙ. Owl, his wings expanded; in the field, a flower; the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. grs. 53. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

7.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙΚ. ΑΡΜ. Owl, to the left. AR. 2. grs. 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ . (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

8.—Fore part of a Pegasus, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙ. Lyre between two laurel branches. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

9.—Radiated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙΚΑ. ΑΝΑ. Lyre; below, the letters ΜΕ. Æ. 4. (*My cabinet.*)

10.—Head of Medusa, front face.

R.—ΑΛΙΚ::: ΑΙΘΩΝ. Head of Pallas, to the right. Æ. 5. (*British Mus. from the same.*)

No. 11.—Bearded head of Jupiter, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΩΝ. Tripod. Æ. 3. (*Same cabinet from same.*)

12.—ΑΥ. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC. ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC. ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Laureated head of Hadrianus, to the left.

R.—ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑCCEΩΝ. Bust of Pallas, to the left. Æ. 5. (*My cabinet.*)

13.—ΑΥ. ΚΑ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. Laureated head of Antoninus Pius, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑCCEΩΝ. Male figure standing. Æ. 4. (*My cabinet.*)

14.—ΦΑΥCΤΕΝΑ CΕΒΑC. Head of the younger Faustina, to the right.

R.—ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑCCEΩΝ. Figure in a distyle temple. Æ. 4. (*My cabinet.*)

From No. 4 downwards, these coins of Halicarnassus offer nothing worthy of special notice; they are merely varieties of the numerous series of coins already published of this celebrated city.

In order to justify the appropriation of the first two coins at the head of this list, to Halicarnassus, the No. 3, on which are inscribed the initial letters ΑΛΙ, must serve as the principal key. The style of fabric, and execution of the Pegasus, on all the three coins, is remarkable, and is almost sufficient to show the identity of their origin.

I have frequently had occasion to remark, in the course of these notices, that, to an experienced numismatist, the province where certain primitive coins were struck, may often be decided by the particular form of the indented square. The Macedonian, the Ionian, etc., etc., are easily distinguishable from each other. The form of the indentures on my coin No. 2, is peculiar on coins of Dorian origin. Similar parallel indentures are observed on the most ancient money of Camira and Cnidus, as well as on



a unique coin, I shall have occasion to mention hereafter, of Lindus. Now Halicarnassus was one of the cities of Dorian Hexapolis; and admitting, on account of the form of the indenture, the Dorian origin of the coin in question, it cannot be placed with propriety to any other place than to Halicarnassus.

## HARPASA.

No 1.—ΔΗΜΟC. ΑΠΙΑΧΝΩΝ. Youthful head of the people, to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΚΑΝΑΙΔΙΟΥ. ΚΕΛΑΟΥ. Minerva standing, a javelin in her right hand, and a shield in her left. Æ. 6. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

2.—ΑΥ. ΚΑ. ΝΕΡ. ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟC. Laureated head of Trajan to the right

R.—ΑΠΙΑΧΝΩΝ. River god, recumbent. (*British Mus. from my cabinet.*)

I presume the coin No. 1, was struck during the sway of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as the same magistrate's name, *Candidus Celsus*, occurs on one of his coins in Mionnet.<sup>26</sup>

The river god on the reverse of No. 2, is the Harpasus, a tributary of the Mæander, near to which Harpasa was situated.

## HYLLARIMA.

No. 1.—ΕΠΙ. ΤΕΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟC. Female head, to the right.

R.—ΥΛΛΑΡΙΜΕΟΝ. Pallas standing, a branch of olive in her right hand, and spear and shield in her left. Æ. 4. (*British Mus., from my cabinet.*)

I considered this coin to have been unique, till I saw a second, a very imperfect specimen, amongst the unclassified

<sup>26</sup> Suppt. tom. vi. p. 502, No. 329.

coins of Mr. Millingen, when I was in Paris, in 1831, which could not have been decyphered very easily without the assistance of my coin. Mr. Millingen has since published his coin; but in consequence of its bad state of preservation, he has given an incorrect engraving and description of it: his version is as follows:—

ΕΠΙ. ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΥ. ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ. Female head, to the right.

R.—ΥΛΛΑΡΙΜΕΝΕΩΝ. Minerva, holding in one hand a spear and shield, and with the other a bunch of grapes.  
Æ. 3. (Millingen, *Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins of Greek Kings and Cities*, London, 1837, p. 74, pl. iv. 49.)

As my coin is in perfect condition, it is certain that the name of the city was Hyllarima, and not as Millingen has designated it "Hyllarimene": the former is more in accordance with the orthography of ancient writers who mention it.

The figure on the reverse, is Minerva Pacifera, or the *peace-bearer*; she has the instruments of war in one hand, and the olive branch, symbolic of peace, in the other. The last attribute was given to Minerva by the intellectual and inventive Greeks, indicating that peace and happiness are always the result of successful war, when the arts may be cultivated without interruption. For this reason, it is said, Minerva first planted the olive, a symbol of peace, which entitled her to the honor of giving her name to the city of Cecrops, in preference to Neptune.

#### IASUS.

No. 1.—Profile of Apollo, laureated, to the right.

R.—ΙΑ. ΜΕΝΕΣΟΙ.... Naked youth upon a dolphin.  
AR. 4. grs. 77½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

VOL. IX.

Y



No. 2.—Same head.

R.—IA. ΔΑΜΗΤΟΣ. Same type. AR. 4. grs. 82.  
(*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

3.—Lyre, within a wreath of laurel.

R.—IACΕΩΝ. Youth upon a dolphin; below, an indistinct magistrate's name. Æ. 3. (*British Museum, from same.*)

Thucydides<sup>27</sup> speaks of Iasus, as a place which had enjoyed considerable opulence, before it was pillaged by the soldiers of the Peloponnesus. Its situation is marked by Polybius,<sup>28</sup> as being on the Carian coast, on a gulf terminating on one side by the temple of Neptune, in the territory of Miletus; and on the other, by the city of Myndus. Ancient authors are disagreed, whether Iasus was situated on an island, or on the Carian continent; Pliny,<sup>29</sup> Ptolemy,<sup>30</sup> and others, give it the latter; Strabo<sup>31</sup> and Stephanus,<sup>32</sup> the former position.

The silver coins of Iasus were known neither to Eckhel, Pellerin, nor Mionnet: the only one published, hitherto, is to be found in Sestini,<sup>33</sup> from the royal collection at Munich. The types on Sestini's coin are similar to those on mine: it only differs by the absence of a magistrate's name, and the name of the city being inscribed at full length.

The type on the reverse of the major part of the autonomous coins of this city, confirm what is related by Pollux<sup>34</sup> and Aelian,<sup>35</sup> that the Iasians stamped on their money, a youth on a dolphin. The origin of this device is variously stated by ancient writers; but Pliny's account is

<sup>27</sup> Lib. viii. cap. 28.

<sup>29</sup> Lib. v. cap. 29.

<sup>31</sup> Lib. xiv. p. 658.

<sup>33</sup> Lett. e Diss. Num. tom. v. p. 45.

<sup>34</sup> Onomast. lib. ix. cap. 6.

<sup>28</sup> Lib. xvi.

<sup>30</sup> Lib. v. cap. 2.

<sup>32</sup> Steph. Byz. v. Ἰασσός.

<sup>35</sup> Nat. Anim. lib. vi. cap. 15.

the most plausible: he says, "A dolphin by degrees had become familiarly attached to a youth of Iasus, so as to allow him to mount on his back in the sea. One day, observing his friend quit the coast, the dolphin in his eagerness to follow him, leaped from the sea on to the beach, and died from his inability to return to his element." Pliny adds, "that the youth was afterwards appointed priest of the temple of Neptune, at Babylon, by Alexander the Great, who fancied the attachment of the dolphin denoted his being a favourite of that deity."

## IDYMA.

No. 1.—Uncertain head, front face.

R.—:: ΔΥΜΙΟΝ. A fig leaf, the whole in a sunk square.

AR. 3. grs. 54½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Another rather different. AR. 3. grs. 52. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

3.—Another. AR. 3. grs. 57½. (*My collection.*)

There can be no hesitation required for assigning these coins to the town in Caria noticed by Stephanus as being situated on the river Idymus—"Idyma urbs Cariæ, cujus et Idymus fluvius,"—of which no coins have yet been published.<sup>36</sup>

It is difficult to determine what deity is represented on the obverse side of all these coins. None are sufficiently distinct. The reverse exhibits a fig-leaf precisely similar to that seen on the coins of Camirus, in Rhodes, which would lead to the supposition of some connexion between the two places, of which no mention has reached us. At all events,

<sup>36</sup> Another coin of this type, with the legend imperfect, is attributed, by Payne Knight, to Camirus. Num. Vet. p. 114. B. i. —*Ed. Num. Chron.*



it may prove, that Idyma was situated opposite the island of Rhodes. On the first two coins in the above list, the legends are not perfectly clear; but upon the third, now before me, every letter is satisfactorily distinct.

## MYNDUS.

No. 1.—Head of a Bacchante, crowned with ivy, to the right.

R.—MYNΔΙΩΝ. ΜΗΝΟΔΟ. Thunderbolt. AR. 3. 29 $\frac{3}{4}$  grs.  
(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—The same with MYNΔΙΩΝ. ΣΙΜΜΑΧ. AR. 3. 29 grs.  
(*My cabinet.*)

3.—Same head.

R.—MYNΔΙΩΝ. ΕΥ. . . . Bunch of grapes. AR. 2. 15 $\frac{3}{4}$  grs.  
(*British Museum, and my cabinet.*)

Myndus was a small town with disproportionably large gates. Diogenes, the cynic, being there, advised the inhabitants to keep them closed, for fear the town should escape.<sup>37</sup>

The autonomous coins of Myndus in silver are rare. The types on the three described above are new.

## PALEOPOLIS.

No. 1.—. CEΠ. CEOYHPOC . . . Laureated head of Septimius Severus, to the right.

R.—ΠΑΛΕΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Jupiter seated, the hasta in his left hand; behind the seat, an eagle. Æ. 6. (*Cabinet de M. Fontana, at Trieste.*)

Here is another city of which, I believe, no other numismatic remains have reached us. I was allowed to take a note and an impression from this coin by its then proprietor, the Chevalier Fontana, at Trieste, in 1832, not long previous to the demise of that distinguished numismatist. It has remained unedited to this day.

<sup>37</sup> Diog. Laert. lib. vi. chap. 2.

Paleopolis is designated as an inferior bishopric, under the metropolitan of Ephesus, in the *Notitiæ Episcopatum Græcorum*; but, although its position is not laid down, I conceive I cannot be far wrong in placing it in the province of Caria.

#### PRENASSUS VEL PRINASSUS.

The coin formerly attributed by Mionnet,<sup>38</sup> after Cousinéry, to Perga, and restored by Sestini<sup>39</sup> to Prenassus, or Prinassus, in Caria, is the same as that given by Wiczay to Anaphlystus, in Attica. Although these coins read ΜΑΝΑΨΑ. ΠΡΕΝΑ. or ΠΡΕΝΑΣ, yet I cannot approve of their appropriation to Prenassus, as they are brought constantly and in abundance from the province of Pisidia, with coins of Sagalassus, Perga, and Selge. I am of opinion, it will be discovered they are more nearly connected with Perga than we at present suppose.

#### PYRNUΣ.

I have good reason also for believing that the attribution of the coins in Mionnet<sup>40</sup> and Pellerin,<sup>41</sup> reading ΠΥΡ. and ΠΥΡΝΗΩΝ., to Pyrnus, in Caria, is erroneous. Mionnet justly remarks that the initial letter is not a Π but a Γ. I have had a number of these coins, on all of which I read ΓΥΡ, and on a single specimen ΓΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, but never observed any with ΓΥΡΝΕΩΝ. Besides, all those which have

<sup>38</sup> Supp. vi. p. 534, No. 473, and Supp. vii. p. 44, No. 76.

<sup>39</sup> Lett. Num. Contin. tom. vii. p. 81.

<sup>40</sup> Tom. iii. p. 375-6, Nos. 424, 425.

<sup>41</sup> Recueil de Méd. de Peup. et de Villes, tom. ii. p. 130, tab. lxvii. fig. 50.



come under my notice were invariably procured in company with coins of Pitane and Pergamus, in Mysia, Cyme, and Myrina, in Aeolia. In these districts I can, however, find no mention of a town of Gyrnus. If it were permitted to transpose a single letter of this legend, and read ΓΡΥΝΑΙΩΝ instead of ΓΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, we should have the name of Gryneum, a town of some note in the Troad, remarkable for a temple of Apollo, surnamed Grynæus. But although the position of Gryneum answers perfectly well as regards the localities where these coins are found; and, moreover, the head of Apollo on them is found of similar work and design upon coins of other cities in the same province, and more particularly on the coins of Gergitha;<sup>42</sup> yet I am fearful such a liberty would not be admissible: I must, therefore, rest contented in having recorded my doubt as to their attribution to Pynus, and leave to further discoveries their more appropriate and positive classification.

#### TABA.

No. 1.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—TABHNΩN. APTEMΩN. Victory, to the right, a laurel crown in one hand and a palm branch in the other; in the field, ΠΑ. AR. 3. 26 grs. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—Same head.

R.—TABHNΩN. ΒΡΑΧΥΛΛΥΔΑΣ. Victory, as the preceding; in the field, ΚΑΑ. AR. 3. 26½ grs. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

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<sup>42</sup> Compare the head of Apollo, as engraved in Pellerin, with the head in Dumersan's *Description des Méd. Ant. du Cab. de M. Allier de Hauteroche*, pl. xii. fig. 10; also a coin of Alexandria in Troas, in Pellerin, loc. cit. p. 61, tab. liv., No. 14.

No. 3.—Same head.

R.—TABHNΩN. CEΛEYKOC. Bacchus standing, to the left, leaning against a Cippus, the cantharus in one hand and the thyrsus in the other; in the field, BPA.  
AR. 3. 20 grs. (*My cabinet.*)

The letters ΠΑ, in the field of the first coin, allude probably to the name of ΠΑΠΙΟΥ, which occurs on another coin connected with ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝ;<sup>43</sup> as do the letters BPA on No. 3, for ΒΡΑΧΥΛΛΑΥΔΟΥ, to *Seleucus, the son of Brachylidas*, as is seen on a coin published by Haym,<sup>44</sup> formerly in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection, now in the British Museum.

#### TRAPEZOPOLIS.

No. 1.—ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureated head of Augustus, in front lituus.

R.—ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΟΤΟΣ. Naked figure of Apollo, standing, a laurel branch in his left hand; in front Α, behind ΝΡ. Æ. 4. (*British Museum, and my cabinet.*)

2.—ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ. ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ. Laureated head of Vespasianus, to the right.

R.—::: OPONTHΣ. ΤΡΑΠΕ. Cybele, standing, front face, each hand on the head of a lion, sitting on either side of her. Æ. 5. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—ΙΟΥΔΙΑ. ΔΟΜΝΑ. CEBACT. Head of Julia Domna, to the right.

R.—ΕΠΙ. ΑΡ. Τ. ΑΔΡΑΚΤΟΥ. ΚΕΖΕ. ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΙΤ::: Cybele sitting, the hasta in her left hand, a lion at her feet; in the exergue, ΘΕΟΑ (retrograde). Æ. 8.  
(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

The types on the reverses of these three coins of the Carian Trapezopolis exhibit unedited varieties. Of Vespasian none have been previously noted.

<sup>43</sup> See Mionnet, Supp. tom. vi. p. 543, No. 508.

<sup>44</sup> Tom. ii. p. 189, and Mionnet, loc. cit. No. 509.



## TRIPOLIS.

No. 1.—ΦΑΥΚΤΕΙΝΑ. CEBACTH. Head of the younger Faustina, to the right.

R.—ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. ΜΑΙΑΝΔΡΟΣ. The Mæander recumbent. Æ. 8. (*My cabinet.*)

Faustina is a new head on the coins of Tripolis. The Mæander, on the borders of which the city was situated, occurs on the reverses of many of its coins, both autonomous and imperial.

## KING OF CARIA.

## PIXODARUS.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo with long flowing hair, to the right.

R.—ΠΙΞΩΔΑΡΟ. Jupiter Labrandæus, standing, clad with the *pallium*, the *Bipennis* in his right hand, and the *hasta* in his left. AV. 3. 64 $\frac{1}{10}$  grs. (*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

No gold coins of any of the sovereigns of Caria preceding Pixodarus, have yet been discovered. Of this last king, one was first published by Pellerin;<sup>45</sup> but it appears to be the hemidrachm, while this of mine, by its weight, corresponds to the drachma. The beautiful execution of this unique coin merits the highest praise, and, as its preservation is equally perfect, renders it one of the most interesting objects of art amongst the regal Greek series.

The silver coins of the Carian kings, excepting only

<sup>45</sup> Supp. tom. iv. p. 113.

those of Hecatomnus, exhibit on the obverse side the head of Apollo, front face, whilst Pellerin's and my gold coin offer the same head in profile. On the reverse, Jupiter Labrandæus is the only type, repeated on the whole series without exception. A celebrated temple, with a statue of Jupiter Labrandæus, existed at a place called Labranda, near Mylassa, and his worship was disseminated throughout the province. For an account of the origin of the worship of this Jupiter, cf. Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.*; Aelian, *de Natur. Animal.* lib. xii. cap. 30; Berkel. ad Steph. Byz. in *Ἀάβραυδα*; Spanheim, *Diss.* vii. p. 517.

At the demise of Idrieus, Pixodarus usurped the Carian throne, to the prejudice of Ada, the widow of the deceased king. He maintained his power till the arrival of Alexander the Great in Caria. Ada succeeded in obtaining the sympathy of the young conqueror; and when Halicarnassus was taken she was restored to her rights. Pixodarus is supposed to have died about the 418th year of Rome, or B.C. 336 years.

## ASTYPALÆA, INSULA.

No. 1.—Head of Medusa, front face.

R.—ΑΣΤΥ. *Harpa.* Æ. 2. 1 gr.

2.—Head of Perseus, with winged helmet, to the right.

R.—ΑΣ. *Harpa.* Æ. 2.

3.—The same, but with ΑΣΤΥΠΙΑ. Æ. 2.

4.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—ΑΣΤ. Prow of a galley. Æ. 2.

The beauty and fertility of Astypalæa obtained for it the epithet of *θεῶν τράπεζα*, *the table of the gods*.<sup>46</sup> It was

<sup>46</sup> Steph. Byz. in *Ἀστυπάλεια*.



situated in the Carian sea, between Rhodes and Crete. It derived its name from the mother of Ancæus, and was colonised by one of the earliest emigrations from Megara.<sup>47</sup>

Autonomous coins of Astypalæa were unknown to numismatists till M. de Cadalvene took a few to Paris, on his return from the Levant, and ceded them to the National Museum;<sup>48</sup> compared with these my four coins offer trifling varieties.

I have ascertained, beyond doubt, that all these coins were found in the island of Astypalæa. This is important as there was another city of Astypalæa in the island of Cos. For although Diodorus informs us that this last was destroyed by an earthquake, and the inhabitants removed to Cos, yet it does not appear to have been entirely abandoned; for we find in Arrian the name of one of Alexander's naval commanders, Onesicritus of Astypalæa, in the island of Cos, who held joint command in the famous expedition of Nearchus.

The numismatist will observe the great analogy between the symbols on these coins of Astypalæa, and those of Seriphus and Gyarus alluded to in these notices; but I have nothing to offer in explanation.

#### CALYMNA, INSULA.

No. 1.—Youthful male head, helmeted, to the right.

R.—KAAY. Lyre. AR. 2. 23 grs. (*My cabinet*.)

This coin differs from others already published by its size and weight, which indicates it to be the quarter part of the larger coin.

<sup>47</sup> Scymnus, v. 549, 550.

<sup>48</sup> See Mionnet, Supp. vi. p. 563. I am inclined to believe that Mionnet's No. 4 is rather of Astyra in Rhodes.

A very few years ago, the coins of Calymna were unknown. No numismatic writer had mentioned them previous to the publication of Mionnet's valuable catalogue, in which one, then considered unique, is cited from the French national collection. Since then, and during my sojourn in the Levant, they have become much more common, owing to the discovery of an immense deposit of coins, in 1823,<sup>49</sup> amongst which were a large number of this island. A short history of this discovery may interest the reader; I shall, therefore, offer no apology for introducing it here. The treasure was discovered by a peasant, whilst deepening a long neglected well in his garden; and it is said that the number of coins, all silver, which he disinterred, amounted to nearly ten thousand. Besides the coins of Calymna, all of which, with few exceptions, were of the larger size,<sup>50</sup> there were several thousand Darics of the usual common description, with a few of the larger and rarer kinds, representing the kneeling archer on one side, and the horseman on the other.<sup>51</sup> Of Rhodes and Cos, there were numerous specimens of various sizes, but mostly drachms and didrachms; many drachms, and one only a tetradrachm of Cnidus; lastly, there was an ample quantity of coins of Mausolus, Idrieus, and Pixodarus, kings of Caria, all small excepting a few tetradrachms of Mausolus.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> When I wrote my catalogue, which is now in the Bank of England, I was not aware of the extent of the find; I had my information some years subsequently, from a Greek priest, a native of the island.

<sup>50</sup> Weighing about 101 grains: two smaller, in my collection, weigh 49 and 47 grains.

<sup>51</sup> As Mionnet, v. p. 644, No. 26.

<sup>52</sup> It is remarkable, though unaccountable, that all the small coins of Mausolus were in bad condition, and much worn; the tetradrachms on the contrary were perfectly preserved.



As regards numbers, this deposit may be considered one of the richest upon record; but, unfortunately, nearly nine-tenths of the whole were consigned to the crucible, not from ignorance, but on account of their degraded preservation. They were useless for any scientific purpose.

It is, perhaps, difficult to explain satisfactorily how, or at what precise period of time, this rich treasure came to be deposited in an island of so little importance as Calymna; but as there were no coins of Alexander the Great intermingled amongst them, and the latest coins were those of Pixodarus, who ruled over Caria when Alexander passed into Asia, it is probable they were thrown in the place where they were found during some emergency; and this emergency may have occurred, just at that particular moment when Calymna was reduced as a Carian dependency, when Pixodarus was dethroned, and queen Ada restored to the government. The various coins of which this treasure was composed, in that case, represented the currency of the island, and probably of the surrounding countries at that time. Had they been deposited even a year later, it is more than probable that a few coins of Alexander would have been found with them; as it is well known, that the money of the Macedonian conqueror formed the principal currency of Asia Minor, during the subsequent century.

#### ASTYRA, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—Large vase.

R.—ASTY. Vase of an elegant shape, with a single handle; in the field, a lyre, of archaic form; the whole in a sunk square. AR.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ .  $149\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*Bank of England, from my Cabinet.*)

No. 2.—Single handled vase.

R.—Single handled vase of another form, in an indented square. AR. 1.  $12\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*British Museum.*)

3.—Vase as last, in the field A.

R.—Vase, as on the reverse of the preceding. AR. 1. 17 grs. (*British Museum.*)

4.—Vase, as on the reverse of last.

R.—Indented square. AR.  $\frac{3}{4}$ . 10 grs. (*British Museum.*)

5.—Vase, as on obverse of No. 3.

R.—Three indented squares within each other. AR.  $\frac{3}{4}$ .  $7\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*British Museum.*)

6.—A flower.

R.—A. in an indented square. AR.  $\frac{1}{2}$ .  $3\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*British Museum.*)

7.—Vase, as No. 2.

R.—An uncertain symbol in an indented square. AR.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .  $14\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*British Museum.*)

8.—Head of Venus, to the right.

R.—ΑΣΤΥ. Diota. Æ. 2. (*British Museum.*)

9.—Another, devices similar to the last, but without legend. Æ. 1. (*British Museum.*)

10.—Another, similar, but with ΑΣ on reverse. Æ. 1. (*British Museum.*)

11.—Head as the preceding.

R.—ΑΣ. Diota; in the field, a smaller vase. Æ.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . (*British Museum.*)

12.—Head as last.

R.—ΑΣΤΥ. A flower in a Diota. Æ. 2. (*British Museum.*)

13.—Head of Apollo, front face.

R.—ΑΣΤΥΡΑ. Diota; above, an ivy leaf; in the field, a small vase. Æ. 3. (*Bank of England.*)

Geographers refer to three towns called Astyra, in Mysia, in the Troad, and in the island of Rhodes. It is to the



last (the Rhodian Astyra), that Pellerin<sup>53</sup> assigns a copper coin similar to my No. 13, the full-face head of Apollo, in his opinion, assimilating it with the coins of the city of Rhodes. To this single coin, Sestini<sup>54</sup> adds another, offering other symbols, which is all we knew of Astyra, till very lately.<sup>55</sup>

It has been my good fortune, not only to enrich the series with a considerable number of monuments, both in silver and copper, but, by ascertaining beyond all doubt that they were discovered at the same time at Rhodes, to establish what was previously disputed, that they are correctly classed as they now stand.

Many of the earlier coins amongst the silver in this series are without legend; but they are so exactly identified with those which bear the initials of the name of the city, that they singularly illustrate each other. These coins, the silver in particular, I believe to be mostly unique, the No. 1 on account of its size, as well as its serving as a key to the rest, is highly interesting.

The Rhodian Astyra is only mentioned by Stephanus, who says it was of Phœnician origin: this accounts for the appearance of the portrait of Venus on Nos. 8 to 12, as it is well known the worship of this goddess was introduced by the Phœnicians in most of their settlements.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>53</sup> Rec. iii. p. 93.

<sup>54</sup> Descr. dell Med. Gr. del Mus. Heder. tom. ii. p. 247, and Mionnet, Supp. vi. p. 608, No. 333.

<sup>55</sup> Sestini, in his Descr. di altri Med. Gr. del Mus. Font. pars iii. p. 66. tab. vi. fig. 3., gives a silver coin to Astyra; but it belongs to Samos. See also Mionnet, loc. cit. No. 332.

<sup>56</sup> There is a striking resemblance of the head of Venus on these coins, compared with her head on the small copper money of Nisyros.

## CAMIRUS, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—A large fig leaf.

R.—Indented oblong square, divided in the middle by a broad bar. AR.  $4\frac{1}{2}$ . 182 grs. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—The same. AR.  $1.9\frac{1}{10}$  grs. (*My collection.*)

3.—A large fig leaf.

R.—KA. in an indented square, divided into two equal parts. AR.  $1\frac{1}{4}$ .  $18\frac{1}{4}$  grs. (*Bank of England, from my collection.*)

4.—Balaustium.

R.—KA. and a griffin's head; the whole in a deep indented square. AR.  $1\frac{1}{2}$ .  $14\frac{1}{2}$  grs. (*My collection.*)

The inhabitants of the Dorian cities, Camirus, Lindus, and Ialysus, united at an early period, and founded the city of Rhodes.<sup>57</sup> Camirus was of remote origin, it is mentioned by Homer,<sup>58</sup> who calls it the "*ἀργυρόεις*" or white, and it belonged to the confederation denominated the Dorian Hexapolis.<sup>59</sup>

Sestini was enabled to assign the coins bearing the type of a fig leaf to Camirus, from a coin then in the collection of Mr. Payne Knight, now in the British Museum, on which the name of the city KAMIPEΩN, is inscribed in full length within the indented square of the reverse.<sup>60</sup> The smaller coins in this last, are unedited. The No. 5 is remarkable; it exhibits on the obverse side, instead of the usual fig leaf, a *balaustium*, which became ultimately

<sup>57</sup> Pliny, lib. viii. cap. 31.

<sup>58</sup> Iliad, lib. ii. v. 656.

<sup>59</sup> Herodotus, lib. i. cap. 144.

<sup>60</sup> Sestini, Lett. vii. p. 82, pl. ii. fig. 26 and 27.



the adopted universal device of the money of the city of Rhodes.<sup>61</sup>

#### IALYSUS, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—Winged wild boar flying, to the left.

R.—IAAYΣION. Eagle's head, and a symbol resembling a heart, in a beaded border; the whole within a flat sunk square. AR. 6. 215½ grs.<sup>62</sup>

A coin similar in its principal features, is published amongst the "*incerti*" of the Hunterian Museum.<sup>63</sup> Sestini, deceived by the type of the winged boar, assigns it without hesitation to Clazomenæ, in Ionia,<sup>64</sup> and he presumes the legend refers merely to the name of a magistrate, which he reads AAYΣION. Mionnet,<sup>65</sup> although he follows Combe in placing it amongst his *incerti*, remarks, in a note, that, judging from its fabric and types, he was of opinion it might have been struck in Pamphylia, or in one of the adjacent provinces. The discovery of my coin, which is fortunately in the most perfect and satisfactory condition, establishes the true reading of the legend to be IAAYΣION. "Money of the Ialysians." It proves that Dr. Hunter's coin was an imperfect specimen, the initial letter being wanting, not from detrition, but in consequence of the insufficient area of the metal compared with the size of the die, and the defective manner of its being struck.

<sup>61</sup> A similar coin to No. 4, I ceded to Mr. Stewart, in the catalogue of some of his coins sold at auction; this coin is ascribed to Carausia, a city of Rhodes, of which I find no mention.

<sup>62</sup> I ceded this coin to Mr. Stewart; I believe it is actually in the collection of the Duke de Luynes.

<sup>63</sup> Combe, Mus. Hunt. tab. 66, fig. 18.

<sup>64</sup> Descriz. degli Stat. Ant. p. 80, tab. viii. fig. 12.

<sup>65</sup> Tom. vi. p. 632, No. 138.

Ialysus was an ancient city of the island of Rhodes, founded at the same time as Camirus and Lyndus, by a Dorian colony; its existence anterior to the siege of Troy is testified by Homer,<sup>65</sup> who mentions it in his catalogue of those cities which sent succours to Agamemnon. It was abandoned by its inhabitants, when, with others, they founded the city of Rhodes, in the first year of the ninety-third Olympiad, B.C. 408.<sup>66</sup>

LYNDUS<sup>67</sup>, IN RHODES.

No. 1.—Head of a lion, the mouth wide open, to the right.

R.—Two oblong parallel indentures divided by a broad bar; in each of the indentures are several rude marks in relief; on the bar is inscribed ΛΥΝΔ. AR. 6.

This is the only coin of Lyndus yet brought to light; it was procured at Rhodes, in 1841, and now embellishes a celebrated cabinet in Paris. Its fabric assimilates it with the coins of Camirus, and with one I have placed to Halicarnassus, the oblong indentures on the reverse having the same form and character, which, I have before remarked, appears to be peculiar to the money of cities of Dorian origin. But, although my coin with the legend ΛΥΝΔ may be unique, it is, nevertheless, very possible that some of those coins without inscriptions which numismatists, in the absence of a point of comparison, have been unable to classify, may be claimed by Lyndus. Amongst those in this particular category, is one engraved in Mionnet's volume of plates;<sup>68</sup> the reader referring to it will observe the same fabric of the coin itself, as well as the style of execution of the lion's

<sup>65</sup> Iliad, lib. ii. v. 163.

<sup>66</sup> Diod. Sic. lib. xiii. p. 600.

<sup>67</sup> Usually written *Lindus* in the texts of ancient authors, but the reading of the coin here published seems to call in question the correctness of such a mode of spelling.

<sup>68</sup> Plate xxxvi. No. 5.



head; and, moreover, he will remark the same Dorian oblong parallel indentures, as also the same inexplicable ornaments, if ornaments they are, as are seen on our coin of Lyndus. I would, further, give a Rhodian origin to two coins published by Millingen,<sup>69</sup> which he denominates "*Incerti Asiæ Minoris*;" but these, perhaps, by their devices, may be better suited to Ialysus.

The lion's head is a symbol of very frequent occurrence upon ancient coins; but the head on the Lyndian money, differs essentially from that depicted on the coins of Cnidus, and both these again from those of Cyzicus.

## XII.

### COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

(Continued from page 120.)

"IN the third year of Alá ud din, when prosperity shone upon his arms, he began to form some extraordinary projects. One of these was the formation of a new system of religion, that, like Mohammed, he might be held in veneration by posterity. His other design was equally romantic. He proposed to leave a viceroy in India, and, like the great Alexander, to undertake the conquest of the world. In consequence of this project, he assumed the title of سکندر الثاني *Sekunder al Sání*, Alexander the Second, which was struck upon the currency of the empire."<sup>9</sup> Fortunately for

<sup>69</sup> Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings, p 73, plate Nos. 14 and 15. [Both these unique coins are now in the British Museum. No. 14 is attributed by Payne Knight to Clazomene, Num. Vet. p. 117. D. 1.—*Ed. Num. Chron.*]

<sup>9</sup> Dow's *Ferishtah*, vol. i., page 234.

the sultan, these crude schemes were submitted for approval to one of his subjects, who was bold enough to point out their absurdity even in the presence of the despot who had originated them. Thus the monarch's eccentricities resulted in no worse consequences than the assumption of certain ridiculous titles still to be seen on his coinage;<sup>10</sup> indeed, the opportune truths told on this occasion, as to what he had yet to accomplish in the immediate circle of his own dominions, led to the confirmation and extension of his already immense power.

A conspiracy, attended by an attempt at assassination, from which the sultan escaped almost by a miracle, was followed by an insurrection as singular in many of its circumstances. During his absence from his capital, a revolution was accomplished, which actually placed a new sovereign on the throne. A seven days' reign was, however, all that was accorded to the new monarch, and his life and the lives of not a few who had aided his temporary elevation, paid the penalty of their rashness.

Again, a third time, an inroad of the Moghuls threatened the most serious results. The sultan, unable to meet his adversaries in the open field, allowed himself to be besieged in his own capital; once more, however, fortune favoured him, and the Moghuls returned as they came.

Towards the latter part of this reign, the conquests of the eunuch Káfur, who commanded the army of the Dukhun, enabled him to bring to Delhí the plunder acquired during his various expeditions, to the almost unheard-of extent of 96,000 maunds of gold alone, independent of spoil of other descriptions to a proportionate amount.

Of Alá ud din's riches, generally, it is related that his

---

<sup>10</sup> Vide Nos. 57 and 58.



wealth surpassed the accumulations of the ten campaigns of Mahmúd of Ghazní. The closing scene of this monarch's life was now approaching, and his last moments of pain and debasement were rendered utterly unendurable to his proud spirit by the repeated reports of insurrections which began to rise up on all sides. The 16th of Shaval, 716 A.H., witnessed the last moments of this mighty king.

It is remarkable, that the existing money of this prince should so directly bear out the relation of historians as to his enormous wealth. Both his silver and gold coins are found to this day in the greatest abundance; but the amount of his gold coinage which is extant, is peculiarly noticeable as regarding its relative proportion to the same species of money of his predecessors, whose gold coins are so rare as to be, with one exception, almost unknown.

c.—Gold. 170 grs. C.

Type and legend identical with No. 57 silver coin, with the exception of the word *القضة* taking the place of *السكة*

57.—Silver. 170 grs. C.

*Obv.*—*السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر محمد شاه*  
*السلطان* The most mighty sovereign, Alá ud dunia wa ud  
 din, Abúl Muzafar, Mohammed Sháh, the Sultan.

*R.*—*Area* *سكندر الثاني يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين*  
 Sekunder the second, right hand of the khalifat, supporter  
 of the commander of the faithful.

*Marg.* *ضرب هذه القضة بحضرت دهلي في سنة اثني عشر*  
*وسبعماية* This silver (was) struck at the capital, Delhí,  
 in the year 712.

58.—Copper and Silver.

*Obv.*—*علا الدنيا والدين سكندر الثاني*

*R.*—Horseman, similar to No. 32.

59.—Silver and Copper. 55 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين

*R.*— $\nu\sigma\tau$  ابو المظفر محمد شاد السلطان Date 702.

60.—Copper. 55 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم علا الدنيا و الدين

*R.*—Area محمد شاد

*Marg.* श्री सलतां अलावदीं ७१० Date 710.

The coins, Nos. 59 and 60, are remarkable as offering the first instance in the present series of the general use of numerals in recording dates; it having been hitherto the custom to write the numbers in the full length of their respective Arabic denominations.

61.—Copper. 67 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم

*R.*—علا الدنيا و الدين

62.—Copper. 23 grs.

*Obv.*—عدل محمد شاد

*R.*—حضرت دهلي

In concluding this reference to the coins of Alá ud din, it may not be inappropriate to append the following note from Ferishtah, on the currency of this particular period.

“In order to comprehend the true value of the money of that day, it is proper to state that a tunka was equal to a tola in weight (180 grs.), whether of gold or silver; and a tunka of silver was equal to 50 jetuls. The jetul was a small copper coin, the weight of which is not now known: some conceive it was a tola, while others are of opinion that the jetul, like the pice of the present day, weighed  $\frac{3}{4}$  tola. The maund of the time of Jellál ud din (Firúz) weighed 40 seers, and each seer weighed 24 tolas.”—*Ferishtah*. See Briggs, vol. i., page 361.



The following coin, in its date and near approximation in type to those of the Delhí series, claims notice in this place. Owing, however, to the absence of distinct historical information regarding any individual, who, about this period, obtained the title of Shums ud din Fírúz, as well as from the erasure of the place of mintage of the coin itself, no satisfactory attribution can well be attempted; at the same time, it may be suggested as possibly the production of the temporary king of the city of Delhí, who for seven days occupied the throne of his master, whose name was Alawi, or Sháh Nunní, but whose regal titles are unknown; or, it may belong to a Bengal mint, as the tenor of the inscription on the reverse is unlike that employed by Alá ud din himself, and assimilates closely to the form found in use, immediately subsequent to this epoch, on the coins of Ghiás ud din Bahádur Sháh, of Bengal.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم شمس الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر فيروز  
شاه السلطان The most mighty sovereign, Shums ud  
dunia wa ud din, Abúl Muzafar Fírúz Sháh, the Sultan.

*R.*—الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين The Imam Al Mos-  
tassem, commander of the faithful.

*Marg.*—ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت - - في سنة اثني و  
سبعماية This silver (was) struck at the capital, (?) in  
the year 702.

#### FIFTEENTH KING (A.H. 616—617; A.D. 1316—1317).

On the demise of Alá ud din, Káfur, who had long possessed all real power in the state, set aside the more mature sons of the late monarch to make way for Umur Khan, a boy of seven years of age, Káfur himself assuming

the office of regent. But little time was allowed to elapse before two of the brothers of the nominal sovereign were deprived of sight, and the life of the third, Mubárik, attempted by the agents of the regent. This prince, however, having found means to buy off his executioners, was in his turn raised to supremacy by the death of Káfur, who was killed by the officers of the foot guard, within thirty-five days of his attainment of the office he so little deserved. Mubárik, it is said, did not assume the title of king until two months subsequent to this event, when his younger brother, in the loss of his eyes, met the fate usually accorded to those scions of the royal blood whom it was desirable to incapacitate from reigning, but whose bare life it was thought advisable to spare.

63.—Silver and Copper. 54½ grs. Unique.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم شهاب الدنيا والدين The most mighty sovereign, Shaháb ud dunia wa ud din.

*R.*—٧١٦ ابو المظفر عمر شاه السلطان Abul Muzafar Umur Sháh, the Sultan. 716.

Marsden adverts to three or four specimens of a silver coin in the museum of the East India Company, bearing the title of شهاب الدين which he considers as possibly belonging to Shaháb ud din Umur: these coins are not at present to be found. This, however, is the less a matter of regret, as far as the present series is concerned; as, from the tenor of what Marsden has been able to decipher, there is great reason to doubt the accuracy of the attribution suggested, and to suppose that the coins in question must have been the produce of some Bengal mint of a somewhat later period.



## SIXTEENTH KING (A.H. 717—721 ; A.D. 1317—1321).

Mubárik, on proclaiming himself king, seemed determined that the means by which he had been elevated should no longer exist to be used against himself; with this intent, the officers who had assisted in the assassination of Káfur were put to death; and, at the same time, the guard, hitherto under their command, was broken up. Among many other slaves raised to offices of high rank by the new monarch, one Khusrú Khán, a converted Hindú, who was invested with the office of vizir, is noticeable, as having subsequently played a prominent part in the history of the day.

Some of the early actions of Mubárik are mentioned with commendation; but after little more than a twelve months' reign, his real disposition began to display itself in acts of the most unbridled licentiousness.

The favourite Khusrú being appointed to the command of the army in the Dukhun, and being successful in the conquest of Malabar, returned to the capital loaded with plunder; and, at this time, the sultan's habits having well prepared him to receive a master, Khusrú made ready use of the position in which he found himself, and on the 25th of Rubbí ul Awul (third month), of 721 H., succeeded in accomplishing the destruction of his sovereign.

<sup>a</sup>.—Gold. Similar to No. 65. Date wanting. (*Prinsep Cabinet*.)<sup>11</sup>

64.—Silver. 170 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—السُّلْطَانُ الْأَعْظَمُ قُتُبُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ أَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ مُبَارَكٌ

شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ بْنِ السُّلْطَانِ The most mighty sovereign,  
Kutb ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Muzafar Mubárik Sháh,  
the Sultan, son of the Sultan.

<sup>11</sup> See also Fraehn, Num. Kufi. ex var. *Museis selecti*, Petropoli, A.D. 1823, page 80.

R.—*Area* اسكندر الزمان يمين الخلافة ناصر امير المؤمنين  
Alexander of the age, right hand of the khalifat, supporter  
of the commander of the faithful.

*Marg.* ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرة دهلي في سنة سبع عشر و—  
This silver (was) struck at the capital, Delhi, in  
the year 717.

65.—Silver. 169 grs. V.R. Square.

*Obv.* الامام الاعظم خليفه رب العالمين قطب الدنيا و—  
The most mighty Imám,  
Khalif lord of the universe, Kutb ud dunia wa ud din,  
Abúl Muzafar Mubárik Sháh—

R.—*Area* السلطان ابن السلطان الوائق بالله امير المؤمنين  
the Sultan, son of the Sultan, Al Wásik Billah, commander  
of the faithful.

*Marg.* ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة دارالخلافة في سنة ثمان عشر و—  
This coin (was) struck at the capital, the seat of  
the khalifat, in the year 718.

Whatever Alá ud din's designs in regard to new systems of religion may have amounted to, it remained to his son to disavow entirely the spiritual supremacy of all other khalifs and successors of khalifs, and to appropriate that title to himself. This is evidenced in coin No. 65, which displays a simultaneous change from the comparatively humble epithet of "Right hand of the khalifat," &c., in conjunction with the marginal record of "struck at the capital, Delhí," to be found on the early coinage of the reign, to the style and title of "The most mighty Imám," as a prefix to Mubárik's self-assumed sacerdotal designation of Al Wásik Billah, accompanied by a marginal legend, showing that Delhí in this change had arrived at the honors of a second Bagdhad.

VOL. IX.

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66.—Copper and Silver. 55 grs. Date 716.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم قطب الدنيا والدين

*R.*—مباركشاه السلطان بن السلطان

The date on this coin of 716 A.H., would seem to show that the time fixed by Ferishtah for Mubárik's accession, viz. the 7th Muhurum, or the first Arabic month of 717, is incorrect.<sup>12</sup> It is probable, however, that the author in question may have adopted the day of the incarceration of Umur, and the public avowal of his supercession by the new sovereign, as the proper date of the commencement of the reign, in preference to, or in ignorance of, the exact period when supreme power was first assumed by Mubárik.

67.—Copper and Silver. 55 grs. Date 717.

*Obv.*—الامام الاعظم قطب الدنيا والدين

*R.*—ابو المظفر مباركشاه السلطان بن السلطان

68.—Copper and Silver. 55 grs.

*Obv.*—خليفة رب العالمين قطب الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر

*R.*—مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان الوافي بالله امير المؤمنين

69.—Silver. 55 grs. Square. Date 718.

*Obv.*—خليفة الله ابو المظفر

*Square area* قطب الدنيا والدين

*R.*—مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان

70.—Copper and Silver. 56 grs. Square. Date 720.

*Obv.*—Same legend as No. 67.

*R.*—خليفة الله مباركشاه السلطان ابن السلطان

<sup>12</sup> Dow's Ferishtah, vol. i., page 265.

71.—Copper. Square. 66 grs.

*Obv.*—الامام الاعظم

*R.*—قطب الدنيا والدين

72.—Copper. Square. 33 grs.

*Obv.*—عدل مبارکشاه

*R.*—بحضرة دارالخلافة

In terminating this notice of the money of Mubárik, it is requisite to make a passing allusion to certain coins of Behádur Sháh, both in reference to the temporary severance of the eastern portion of the kingdom of Bengal from the empire of Hindustan, as well as in the hope of elucidating the enquiry into the due identification of a piece but little dissimilar either in weight or legend, a description of which is given in the note appended to the detail of the coins of Alá ud din. The following extract from Stewart's History of Bengal sufficiently explains the circumstances under which this governor first began to coin money:—

“The emperor (Alá ud din) at the same time appointed a chief, named Behádur Khan, to the government of the eastern districts of Bengal; hoping, by thus dividing that province into two governments, to render it more subservient to the court of Delhí than it had hitherto proved. The capital of the new government was fixed at Sunergong.<sup>13</sup>

“But, in the year 717 H., when the dissolute prince, Mubárik Sháh, succeeded to the throne of Delhí, Behádur, despising the weakness of the imperial councils, arrogated to himself independence; assuming the white umbrella, and ordering the coin to be stamped with his own name, changing the title of Behádur Khan to Behádur Sháh.”—*Stewart's Bengal*, page 79.

The newly erected kingdom thus created did not exist for any considerable period, but was re-attached to Delhí in the reign of Ghiás ud din Tuglák.

<sup>13</sup> Thirteen miles south-east from Dacca.



These coins are by no means uncommon, but are of inferior workmanship, and generally in imperfect preservation; so much so, that of the five or six specimens at present available for reference, the following legend is the most complete attainable.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر بهادر  
شاه السلطان بن ك - -

*R.*—Area الامام المستعصم امير المؤمنين

*Marg.* ضرب هذه الفضة بحضرت - في سنة احدى عشرين  
وسبعماية

SEVENTEENTH KING (A.H. 721, RUBBI UL AWUL;  
A.D. 1321).

Having succeeded in ridding himself of the single obstacle to his own advance to supremacy, Khusrú proclaimed himself sultan under the title of Násir ud din, and endeavoured to strengthen his hold on the rank he had assumed by the massacre of all the survivors of the family of Alá ud din. He, at the same time, attempted to attach the nobles of the court to his person by loading them with the titles and dignities at his command. This system availed only for a time; and the governor of the Punjáb, advancing with the forces of that province, put an end to the usurpation which had endured somewhat less than five months.

73.—Silver. Unique. (*Original in possession of Col. Stacy.*)

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر  
The most mighty Sultan, Násir ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Muzafar.

*R.* خسرو شاه السلطان الوائق خير الرحمن ولي امير—  
Khusrú Sháh, the Sultan Al Wásik Khair al  
Rehman (relying upon the goodness of the All-merciful),  
successor to the commander of the faithful.

*Marg.* ضرب هذه الفضة - - - عشرين وسبعماية—

# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.





THE  
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EDITED BY  
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AT KOPENHAGEN,  
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QUESTIONS PROPOSEES

PROPOSEES PAR LE COMITE D'ETUDES DE LA FACULTE DE THEOLOGIE

DE LA UNIVERSITE DE LAUSANNE

ANNEE 1904-1905

PAR LE PROFESSEUR DE THEOLOGIE

ET

DE LA FACULTE DE THEOLOGIE

DE LA UNIVERSITE DE LAUSANNE

1904-1905

## CONTENTS.

---

### ANCIENT NUMISMATICS.

	PAGE
On the Types of the Coins of Caulonia ; by W. W. Lloyd	1
Unedited Autonomous and Imperial Greek Coins :—	
Lycia — Antiphellos — Balbura — Bubon — Cadyanda	
— Cyaneæ — Limyra — Myra — Podalia — Telmessus	
and Cragus — Tityassa — Tlos — Trebenna — Perga	
— Pogla — Adada — Andeda — Antiochia — Apol-	
lonia — Baris — Conana — Cretopolis — Cremna —	
Pednelissus — Prostanna — Sagalassus — Seleucia —	
Selge ; by H. P. Borrell . . . . .	80
Unedited Coin of Domitian ; by the Editor . . . . .	103
Observations on Coins of Selinus ; by W. W. Lloyd . . . . .	108
Roman Remains at Farley Heath, in the County of	
Surrey ; by B. Nightingale . . . . .	143

### MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN NUMISMATICS.

On the Pennies of Henry with the Short and Long	
Cross ; by Major W. Yorke Moore . . . . .	21
Further Remarks on the Pennies of Henry with the Short	
and Long Cross ; by J. B. Bergne . . . . .	26
Examples of London Coffee House, Tavern, and Trades-	
men's Tokens ; by the Editor . . . . .	63



	PAGE
Unpublished Varieties of the Irish full-face Half-pence of John; by Edward Hoare . . . . .	104
On the Irish full-face Half-pence of John (Second Notice); by Edward Hoare . . . . .	179

## ORIENTAL NUMISMATICS.

Coins of the Patan, Afghan or Ghorî Sultans of Hindustan (Delhi), ( <i>concluded</i> ); by Edward Thomas, Bengal Civil Service . . . . .	43-127-151
--	------------

## NOTICES OF NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

Numismatique des Croisades; par F. De Saulcy . . . . .	184
Mémoires de la Société d'Archæologie et de Numismatique de St. Petersbourg, publiées par B. De Köhne . . . . .	186

## DISCOVERIES OF COINS.

<i>Roman</i> — at Beachamwell, in Norfolk . . . . .	102
---	-----

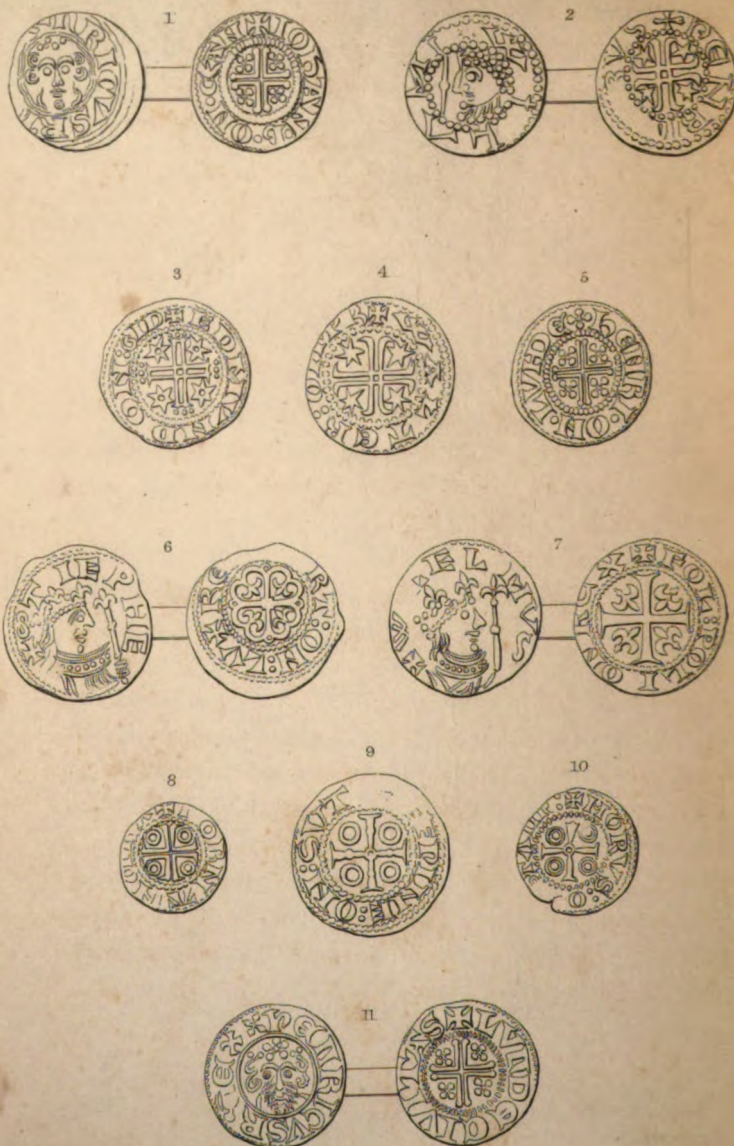
## MISCELLANEA.

Light Gold in England, return of, p. 101 — Collection of Roman Coins for Sale at Cologne, p. 102 — Sale of the late Col. Durrant's Coins, p. 145 — Half-pence of Geo. II., p. 146 — Curious Angel of Henry VII. p. 147 — Birmingham Forgeries of Turkish Money, p. 147 — Lines upon Farley Heath, p. 182.	
--	--

CORRESPONDENCE . . . . .	149-188
--------------------------	---------

no 36





*J. Basire del. et sc.*

ENGLISH, SCOTCH, AND IRISH PENNIES & HALF-PENNIES.

# NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

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## I.

### ON THE TYPES OF THE COINS OF CAULONIA.

THE Archaic incuse tetradrachms of the Achaian colony of Caulonia, present, on the obverse, a male figure in the attitude of walking, naked, beardless, with long hair bound by a fillet, and falling in regular curls over the neck; the elevated right hand holds a bush or branch, as if in the act to strike; a small figure is running along his left outstretched arm and hand, with face usually turned towards him, and also holding, sometimes a branch, and sometimes a more indistinct object resembling a crown.<sup>1</sup> Below the extended arm is usually a deer. Other specimens exhibit a suspended fillet, and on the reverse, which generally has a similar design, but sometimes without the smaller figure, a basin or *λουτήρ*, with a swan. Sometimes the swan is introduced in the area beneath the extended arm of the chief figure, and also to the right a *bucranion* ornamented with fillets hanging above a bearded ithyphallic Hermes, while to the left, water flows into a basin, from a lion-head spout.

---

Archæologische Zeitung, x. 2. Panofka. S. Birch, Numismatic Chronicle, XXX.



The agreement of these symbols leaves little doubt, that the gesture of the larger figure is correctly interpreted as the act of lustration or purification; and the act, the character of the figure, and the deer, all favour the title of Apollo, assigned to it by Müller, and confirmed by a silver coin of the same city, bearing the head of the God crowned with laurel, and a standing deer on the reverse. The arm of the god certainly seems raised, rather for the act of striking than of sprinkling, but it may be observed, that the act of striking is mentioned in some forms of lustration, (Tzetzes Chiliad. v. 23), and is associated with the influence of Apollo, as sun-god, on the health, whether for good or ill.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macrob. Satt. I. xvii. Eadem opinio sospitalis et medici dei in nostris quoque sacris fovetur: namque virgines Vestales ita indigitant: *Apollo. Medice. Apollo. Paian.* cum ergo sunt hujusce sideris, id est, solis duo maximi effectus; alter quo calore temperato juvat mortalium vitam, alter quo jactu radiorum nonnumquam pestiferum virus immittit: duo eademque cognomina circa singulos affectus propriis enuntiationibus signant, appellantes deum *ιηιον* atque *παιανα*, quæ cognomina utrique effectui apti sunt; ut sit *ιηιος* απο του ιασθαι a sanando et *παιαν*, απο του παιειν τας ανιας: et rursus *ιηιος* απο του ιεναι ab immittendo, *βελος* εχεπευκες εφειεις, et *παιαν* απο του παιειν, a feriendo. In this explanation—as in the preceding of *απολλωνοβλητους* = *inustos morbo*, the act of striking appears as the cause, not the cure of disease, as conjectured on the coin; curative influence, however, appears assigned to it, as directed towards the personified causes of disease; thus, *ibid* . . . . .:—*βαλλε παιαν*, id est, *immitte feriendo*; qua voce ferunt Latonam usam cum Apollinem hortaretur impetum Pythonis incessere sagittis. Apollo Paion is associated with a group of powers of health. Pausan. l. 34, 2.

Cf. Lobeck Aglaoph, p. 89.—*Εν ειδοις Μαρτιας πομπης γινομενης ηγετο και ανθρωπος περιβεβλημενος δοραις και τουτον επαιον ραβδους λεπταις.* Lydus de Mens. p. 38.

Apud Delphos novo quoque anno Charilæ cujusdam *ειδωλον παιδικον* producebatur ritèque a rege verberatum intra rupes abdebatur; (Plut. Quæst. Gr. Suidas v. *ειδωλον*,) quibus omnibus *sacra piacularia* significari videntur.

Ad eam rem Judæi veteres hircum emissarium adhibebant;

The great difficulty, however, that has so long exercised the learning and sagacity of archæologists, is to assign a title and character to the smaller running figure. Panofka, at the close of his ingenious essay,<sup>2</sup> anticipates that his own attempt is not likely to conclude the debate, and it has accordingly been recently re-opened by Mr. Birch, in a paper in the Numismatic Chronicle.<sup>3</sup> It appears, however, from a report in the Archäologische Zeitung, No. xliii. that Dr. Panofka disallows the new explanation propounded in that paper, and considers his own rather confirmed and illustrated by the point of detail on which Mr. Birch relies. The present remarks have no farther pretension, than to develop the significance of some ideas that are already current in the discussion, but have scarcely, it appears to the writer, been subjected to a sufficiently searching analysis.

The most obvious analogical instance to the figure as regards its position, is furnished by the statue of Apollo at Delos, which bore on its hand the Charites. On that of the Hère of Coronea, were three Sirens. The Olympian Zeus, and the Athènè of the Parthenon, each held a Nikè or Victory.

In the latter instances, the divinities appear to have been represented as the givers and disposers of the event

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Bæoti in βουλιμον ἐξελασει servum quem probe percussum foras eijcerent.

The Arcadian custom of beating the image of Pan was, I suspect, properly a *rite*. It was in Arcadia that Pausanias professes to have first recognised the significance of traditions, that in other parts of Greece had appeared to him mere absurdities. The stripes of the Lupercalia — a proper καθαρμοσ — will be noticed lower down. The German custom cited by Lobeck, may be paralleled by that of “beating the bounds,” in England.

<sup>2</sup> Archäologische Zeitung, No. x. 1843.

<sup>3</sup> No. XXX.



personified in the winged figure, — as the powers in whose hands were triumph and success. Without turning aside now to analyse the relation of the Sirens to Coronean Hère, as a nature goddess, we may remark, with respect to the Charites, that they are the types of health, beauty, and all the cheerful things of which Apollo himself was so distinguished an impersonation, and thus are appropriately represented as his possession and gift.<sup>4</sup> As goddesses of health, they are associated with Hygiea, by Aripbron,<sup>5</sup> and with Æsculapius on the well-known bas relief.<sup>6</sup> Again, as placed on the head of the Dionysian bull,<sup>7</sup> the symbol of the year, they appear to have reference to the triple seasons, and the course of the sun-god.

In these analogies, we seem to recover the same allusion to health and purity, represented in the gesture of Apollo, as *καθαρτης*; while the running attitude of the small figure brings it within that class, which by formal disposition, and a certain wheel-like arrangement of limbs, appear to be identifiable, as zoomorphised symbols (so to speak), in some cases, of a cycle, or revolution, and at any rate of a course.

The coins of Messenia bear Zeus Ithomatas precisely in the attitude and action of the Caulonian Apollo, but darting his bolt, instead of grasping the lustrative *θαλλος*:<sup>8</sup> on his left extended fore-arm, is the eagle with outspread wings and looking towards him. The close association of the eagle

<sup>4</sup> Macrob. Satt. 1. xvii.

<sup>5</sup> Μετασειο, μακαιρ' Ὑγίεια, τεθηλε πάντα, και λαμπει Χαρτων εαρ.

<sup>6</sup> Mus. Pio-Clem. iv. 13. <sup>7</sup> Denk. der Alt. Kt. ii. 383.

<sup>8</sup> Ithômè as originally Thômè (Strabo), suggests a derivation from the root of *θωμιζω* = *μαστιζω*: compare the *Διος μαστιξ* of the Iliad (xii. 37). Poseidon, again, who on Bruttian coins wields his trident in the same attitude, is not only a smiter of the quaking earth, but in the Iliad (xiii. 59), infuses alacrity and vigour into the exhausted Ajaces by a blow of his sceptre

of Jove with his thunder is well known, from the celebrated passage of Pindar's first Pythian; and it is not to be doubted, that the connection is as intimate between the hastening mannikin of Caulonia and the action of the god, although the blow is probably no more to be considered as menacing him, than the bolt of Messenian Zeus threatens his eagle. He would appear, from this analogy, less as the object, than as the type,—the means and messenger—of the influence of the god, a personage thus in much the same relation to Apollo, as the tiny Telesphoros to Asclepius; and this agrees with the crown, infula or *θαλλος*, borne by him on various specimens.

To assist us in our search for a special and, if possible, local significance in the present case, we have the winged sandals observed by Minervini on the feet of the small figure in a collection at Naples, and since by Mr. Birch, on two specimens in the British Museum.<sup>9</sup> Winged sandals are appropriated to Hermes, to Perseus, and to wind-gods, as for instance, Boreas.<sup>10</sup> We may examine the claims of each in succession.

1. Hermes appears in this running attitude on an Etruscan speculum, and with lyre and flower in his hands, which might in few words be made to harmonise with the annual significance intimated. Mr. Birch interprets the type of the coin as a representation of the anecdote in the Homeric hymn, of Apollo taking up Hermes in his hands. Were there any connection here, I should be inclined to believe, that the coin preserved an archaic type of a *ἱερος λογος*, of which the poet of the hymn availed himself for sportive burlesque. But the figure on the coin is not

<sup>9</sup> One coin in particularly fine preservation exhibits the wings so distinctly as to leave no room for question.

<sup>10</sup> A vase at Munich represents Apollo himself equipped with them. (Thiersch, *über die hellen. bemalten Vasen*. pl. v.)



an infant, and if not, wherefore, as Hermes, is it on a scale so inferior to the Apollo? And the anecdote of the hymn does not include the indispensable idea of purification, unless, indeed, we handle its details with a freedom they scarcely invite. Still it would be with great hesitation and regret, that I should give up the applicability of the passage as illustrative of the type, and as an example of that irony that ever becomes more discernible in the Homeric poetry, as the analysis proceeds of the common symbolism of Greek poetry and religion. We may find the progress of our enquiry lead us back again to the instance, before the essay concludes.

2. Perseus, another claimant to the winged sandals, occurs like Hermes on vases (British Museum), in this attitude of haste or rapid movement: and the astronomical relations of his mythical character would render his association with Apollo consistent;<sup>11</sup> I am not, however, aware of any instance or legend of their fellowship, that throws light on the combination on the coin. The more recondite symbolism of the idea of Perseus, is rather rivalling than complementary to that of Apollo.

3. The wind-gods remain. Boreas, on a Hamilton vase (Gal. Myth. lxxx.), has the fledged heels of Hermes or Perseus, which thus are appropriate to powers of the winds. Boreas himself is a wild power: the *spanking* stride usually assigned to him corresponds with the action of our figure, and he is thus not an unfit subject for control, or purification.<sup>12</sup>

If, then, with Panofka, we regard this small figure as a wind-god, a prince of the powers of air, the analogy of the

<sup>11</sup> Cf. John. Lyd. de Menss. iv. 17, as they appear to have formed the motive of his representation on the throne of the health-power Aesclepius, son of Apollo, at Epidaurus. Paus. ii. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Hesychius in v. βορραεσμοι.

type becomes at once obvious to that of the Sicilian coin (Denk. Alt. Kt. i. 194),<sup>13</sup> bearing a representation of the purification of the air from pestilence, by the arrows of the bowyer-god;<sup>14</sup> and on the reverse, a figure holding, in the left hand, the branch of lustration, similar to that on the Caulonian coin, and with his right, making a libation at an altar. By the altar is a cock, a type either of solar influence or an emblem of the health-god. The connection of the rite of lustration is not more intimate with the removal of moral defilement, than with the restoration of healthy purity to the human body,<sup>15</sup> and of local circumstance as affecting it.

The proofs are abundant of the reference by the Greeks, of the origin of disease to disorders of the air.<sup>16</sup> Hence, the celebrated *Pæan*, written by Sophocles for the service of the Athenian Asclepieion,<sup>17</sup> was said to have the effect of charming the winds when blowing unseasonably; the Attic worship of Boreas was directed to the propitiation of healthful breezes,<sup>18</sup> and it may be observed, that it is as a health-god and curer that Æschylus refers to Apollo as controlling the contrary winds, that detained the fleet of Agamemnon.<sup>19</sup>

Pausanias (iii. 16) regarded the flagellations which

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Müller, *ibid.* and Diog. Laert. viii. 2, 11.

<sup>14</sup> Sophoc. *Cædip. Tyran.* 203.

<sup>15</sup> Πρωτον μὲν γὰρ ἡ καθαρσις καὶ οἱ καθαρμοὶ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἰατρικὴν καὶ κατὰ τὴν μαντικὴν καὶ αἱ τοῖς ἰατρικοῖς φαρμακοῖς καὶ αἱ τοῖς μαντικοῖς περιθειώσεις τε καὶ τὰ λούτρα τὰ ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις καὶ αἱ περιρρανσεις, πάντα ἐν τῇ ταύτῃ δύναιτ' ἂν, καθαρὸν παρέχειν τὸν ἀνθρώπον καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχὴν. Plato. *Cratyl.* p. 405 A.

<sup>16</sup> Herod. ii. 77. Cf. Hippocrat. *Apotheg.*

<sup>17</sup> Philost. *vit. Apoll.* viii. 7, 8.

<sup>18</sup> Hesych. in v. βορέασμοι.

<sup>19</sup> Ἰήϊον δὲ καλεῶ Παιᾶνα

μη τινας ἀντιπνοοὺς

Δαναοῖς χρόνιας ἐχενῆϊδας

ἀπλοῖας τευξῇ

σπενδομένα θυσιᾶν . . . Æschy. *Agam.* 149.

Aulis, a title of Apollo. Hesych in v.



stained the altar of Artemis Orthia with blood, as leniently substituted for the human sacrifices offered in olden time to the goddess, and of which that of Iphigeneia to propitiate the winds, was the mythical type. The Lupercalia, in which Roman ladies "who loved their lords" willingly exposed themselves to the stripes dealt by the youths who ran the course, were properly a form of *καθαρμοσ*: they took place in the month of lustration (February), at a time when, it is noticed (Ovidii Fasti, ii.), the winds were unusually violent, or variable. We shall have occasion presently, to notice the relation between appeased or propitiated winds, and prolific love. Juno, with whose worship the rites appear intimately connected, was regarded in this association as the goddess of the purified and purifying air (John Lydus de Mens. Cf. Lobeck i. 89; Plut. Numa xix.; Dionys. Halic).

Having arrived at this point, we may look more closely into the history and origin of Caulonia, for traces of relation to the mythology of Apollo and the winds.

Caulonia, according to Pausanias, was founded by Achaians (vi. 3, 5), under Tuphòn of Aigai. The name of the *κτιστης*, Tuphòn, at once gives us a reference to stormy and unhealthy winds, and we may either consider him as a mythical personage; in which case he may be identified on the coin at once; or else, admitting his historical character, his name by the prevalent law must, as so distinctly significant, be held to indicate the character of the worship or the particular divinity to which he and his followers were attached; his followers, also, for in these early colonies, claim to leadership is ever traceable to pretensions to special religious function and mythical dignity. Now Typhonian mythology is in most intimate connection with the legend of Apollo as sun-god, and as purifier of

the air; Typhaon, offspring of unassisted Hèrè, having been committed by his mother to the care of the serpent Python (Hom. hymn. in Apoll.). Hesiod (Theog. v. 869) makes Typhon father of all destructive and detrimental winds; and thus he may be regarded with probability as originating them, and, as an object of worship, the power who when propitiated or incensed could direct or restrain them.<sup>20</sup>

Tuphòn was of Aigai; and in this name, as in that of the city Aigira, into which it ultimately merged, relation may be detected to the root *αἰσσω*, which, as having reference to winds, storms, or impetuous course, is now generally recognised in *ægis*.<sup>21</sup> Compare the name of the town Donousa, or Donoessa (*δονεω*, *δονακες*), in the neighbourhood of Aigai. In the latter town, are found temples of Apollo and Asclepius. It is at another Achaian town of cognate name, Aigion, that Pausanias records a conversation he had with a Phœnician, in the temple of Asclepius,<sup>22</sup> that, vague as it is, has great interest. According to the Phœnician system, as expounded by the Sidonian, Asclepius was the air, serviceable to man and all animals for salubrity; and Apollo was the sun, appropriately styled his father by no mortal mother, as it was the sun that, by performance of his course in conformity with the seasons,

<sup>20</sup> In the field of the coin, in one specimen, are a pair of dolphins (British Museum), which may refer to the Delphian god; (Hom. hymn. in Apoll.) to the safe navigation of tranquil seas (the winds being propitiated or appeased); or else it may be, also, to the celestial sign connected by Ovid with the mythology of Typhon. (Fasti ii.)

<sup>21</sup> *τους δε κατ αιγιδωδεις ανεμους τυφω καλουσι.*

Schol. Aristoph. Ran. 872.

*κ' ανεμοεντων αιγιδων.* Æschy. Choeph. 590.

<sup>22</sup> Paus. vii. 23, 6.



conferred salubrity on the air. Pausanias admitted the correctness of the view, but argued that it was quite as much the Greek as Phœnician.<sup>23</sup> The diadem or rays round the head of the god, on many specimens of the Caulonian coin, mark him as a sun-god.

By a *κτιστής* from Achaian Aigai was founded another Italian city, Crotona. The leader of the colony in this instance, was Muskelos, or Muskellos, who, according to Eustathius (ad. Dionys.), before founding the city, consulted Delphi; and in answer to the god, chose health as preferable to wealth for his future town. Muskellos, and hence Crotona, thus appear in close relation to Apollo. The Apollo of Crotona, is consequently a health-god; the city was famed for its healthiness, a gift of the god, and renowned moreover for its school of medicine (Strabo), sure indication of a seat of Asclepian worship. Now to Crotona, according to Scymnus (318), and Stephanus Byzant. (as according to other authorities to Aigai), was ascribed the founding of Caulonia, or, as it was originally called, Aulonia (Strabo). The two Italian cities, in fact, sprung from the same metropolis; and Crotona, the elder sister, in accordance with the sympathy of common race so strong in the history of Greek colonisation, assisted or took part in the promotion of the later enterprise. Hence, I suspect, the conspicuousness of the health-god of Crotona on Caulonian coins. The Aisarus that flowed by Crotona, was said to be named from a hunter, probably Apollo himself, who followed a stag there (the stag of the coin). It is noticed, that the port of Crotona furnished no protection against the winds in winter (Polyb. x. 1, Plin. iii. 2, 15), and it is probable enough that this circumstance was reflected in the local mythology.

<sup>23</sup> And Aristotle supports him; de Gen. Anim. lib. iv. s. fin.

But we have yet another founder of Caulonia to consider; Aulôn, from whom the city was first called Aulonia<sup>24</sup> (Servius ad *Æn.* iii. 552—3, Strab. 261, Steph. Byz. v. *Αυλων*). This name, as observed by Panofka (*Archäol. Zeit.* No. xliii. p. 312), has relation to *αυω*; and it thus is in harmony with the derivations of *Αυγαι* and Donoessa, and parallelises remarkably with the name of the fellow-colonist Typhôn, as a gusty personage.

The most obvious explanation of the name, is certainly by reference to local appropriateness; *αυλων* signifying a long valley, defile, hollow way, canal, channel, or straits of the sea. Such geographical peculiarities are found connected with it in abundant instances: at the N.W. of the Strymonian gulf, the plain of Jordan, the straits between Cyprus and Cilicia, at Messene, and at Aulis, on the Eubœan strait, etc. etc. Strabo expressly states, that the Aulonia of Italy received its name from its situation.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, though the name, in many cases, were originally simply descriptive, it may easily have been afterwards seized upon by legend, personified in a hero, and to the hero adventures and qualities assigned appropriate to the race and its circumstances; but quite absolved from the original descriptive propriety. This vagary of legend is familiarly illustrated in the fanciful interpretation of names, and plays on derivations, in the Homeric poems. (Odysseus, Peleus, and Pelion, the horn and ivory gates of dreams, Delphi in Hymn. ad. Apoll. etc.)

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<sup>24</sup> What was the principle on which the change of name took place? I am indebted to Mr. Newton for the observation which seems to point to the solution, that *καυλος* and *αυλος* appear as correlative terms; the first is the ferule of the spear-head, that receives the second, the stem or shaft of the spear.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Etmol. Mag.* in v. *Αυλωνια*.



Thus, the name of Aulocrènè is sufficiently explained by the valley and the lake, whence rose the rivers Marsyas and Mæander (Pliny, H. N. v. 29): but Strabo says, it had its name from the reeds that grew there, of particular excellence for pipes, and legend doubtless connected them with the piping Marsyas. There seems, therefore, some ground to suspect that the hero Aulôn is, in fact, a result of the personified city, clothed with mythic attributes suggested by his fellow-colonist Typhon, and by prevalent local legends as to the purifying influence of the health-god, Apollo of Crotona, on the air and breezes: and on the other hand, as we shall see, the occurrence of a hero, Aulôn, in other localities, opens the possibility that the local reference indicated by Strabo, may be a coincidence, or a mistake. The true root of the coincidence lies in the fact, that a strait or valley (*αυλων*) is naturally windy (= *αυλωνας κελαδεινους*, Hom. Hymn. in Mer.), and thus invited and induced religious regard for wind-gods or heroes of their race. Diodorus enumerates, among the causes of absence of winds and of a calm atmosphere, *μητε συσκιους αυλωνας παρακεισθαι πλησιον* (lib. ii. p. 129). The mythology of the story of Aulis is found at the metropolis of Aulonia, Achaian Aigira, where Pausanias notices a temple of Artemis, and statue of Iphigeneia; and hence it was, therefore, that Apollo as Païôn, the curer, and as the appeaser of the winds, associated in this character with Artemis at Aulis, by Æschylus, and in the painting of Pompeii, was originally derived by the Achaian colonists.

There seems to have been much in the position of these cities, to favour the development of any religious germs having relation to the winds. It would be favoured by natural circumstances, and antecedent legend. The navigation round the extreme promontories of the Italian penin-

sula, appears to have been very exposed, and rites and legends referring to the winds, are, as might be expected, traceable without difficulty.

The *cult* of the winds, that is so widely diffused among the older cities,—at Athens,<sup>26</sup> Corinth, Trœzene, Sicyon,<sup>27</sup> Messenia, etc., dates, no doubt, at least as early as the days of Achaian predominance, and does not seem to have been forgotten by the bold mariners who settled in the West. It was less likely to be neglected at Caulonia, from the great importance attached to it at the chief seat of the Delphic god; long before the expedition of Xerxes, which gave occasion for its revival (Herod. vii. 178). The Thurians, for services rendered, presented Boreas with the freedom of their city, and an estate.<sup>28</sup> At Tarentum, we find notice of sacrifices to the winds:<sup>29</sup> it is especially noticed, that the port of Crotona was exposed to their fury in winter, and proceeding but a short distance farther, we arrive at the promontory Zephyrium (the name of which, betrays a local wind mythus), and the supposed Æolian isles. That the promontory Zephyrium was a seat of legends, if not the worship, of the winds,<sup>30</sup> appears probable,

<sup>26</sup> The βορεασμοι of the Athenians, *ἵνα ἀνοσοὶ πνεύσιν* (Hesych. in v. Cf. Lobeck. Aglao. p. 760).

<sup>27</sup> Paus. ii. 12, 1; Βῶμος of winds and rites to appease τὸ πνευμάτων τὸ ἀγριον. At Mothone, in Messenia, was a fane of Athènè Anemotis, founded by Diomedes, in favour of whom the goddess put a stop to violent and unseasonable winds (Paus. iv. 35. Zeus Euanemos at Sparta, id. iii. 13, 5).

<sup>28</sup> Ælian. V. H. xii. 62.

<sup>29</sup> Hesych. in v. ἀφεκτος. Compare Zeus Ourios at Syracuse, etc.

<sup>30</sup> Hence the suggestion of the introduction of Pindar's ode for an Epizephyrian Locrian—

Ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις ἀνέμων ὅτε πλειστα  
χρησις· ἐστὶν δ' οὐρανίων ὕδατων  
οὐβρίων, παίδων Νεφέλας. Olymp. x. 1.

Stephanus Byz. speaks of a Locrian Caulonia, and cf. Servius ad Æn. iii. v. 553.



not only on other grounds, but from the occurrence of another Zephyrium eastward, on the borders of Cilicia,<sup>31</sup> in close connection with a locality named Anemurium. So in the Iliad, Zephyrus appears as the host of all the winds; and in this character, seems to occupy the place of the wind controller Æolus of the Odyssey, who feasts his family in his windy halls with the spirit of a "fine old English gentleman, one of the olden time." Literature is not silent on the loves of Zephyrus; Iris bore him Eros, as Alcæus sings (Plut. Amator. 20), and Ovid (Fasti, v. 197) recounts his adventure with Flora. The vases of Italy present him in groups parallel to those of Boreas and Oreithyia, as eager, but a more comely lover (Arch. Zeit. 31. Tischb. iii. 28). The situation corresponds with the fertilising and vivifying influence assigned to the winds in Greek religion, and follows the type that was in the possession of Homer, and is indicated in his picture of the somewhat embarrassing gallantry of the carousing powers of the breezes to the summoning Iris.<sup>32</sup>

Two lines may be noticed in Homer's account of Æolus, as illustrative of our points: *κνισσεν δε τε δωμα περιστεναχίζεται αυλη*,—where *αυλη* (= *Αυλωνια*) may be interpreted, at least as regards allusion, by Etymol. Mag. in v. *Αυλη. ο περιτειχισμος* (= the brass-walled island of Æolus)

<sup>31</sup> Strabo xiv. 670. Ptolemy v. 8. Eustath. ad Dionys. 855. Cilicia, it must be observed in this connection, is a chief seat of Typhonian legend. So again, legend connected Typhon with Mt. Hæmus, in the neighbourhood of the Strymonian gulf, where the worship of the winds was particularly rife, and where we have already noticed an Aulis. The wind-worship of Thrace, is a parallelism that may be added to others of Magian or Persian character, adverted to in "The Nereid Monument." Boreas and Zephyrus return home from the pyre of Patroclus, *Θρηικιον καταποντον*, Iliad xxiii. 230.

<sup>32</sup> Iliad xxiii. 203.

παρα το αω, το πνεω. και αυλη ο περιπνεομενος τοπος. The name of Æolus seems to have suffered the fate I have suggested, as possibly that of Aulonia; as although probably in origin a mere personification of Æolian race, in mythus an intention is not undiscoverable to rely on its suggestion of *αελλω*. Again, the expression *βυκτων ανεμων κελευθα*, said to be enclosed in the bag, suggests to me the idea of *a course*, as symbolised in the running mannikin of the coin.

Pausanias (iii. 12, 7) mentions the tomb of an Aulôn, at Sparta, which is the more note-worthy, as, according to the same authority,<sup>33</sup> the Spartans sent a colony to Crotona. The *herôon* was associated with another of Hippolytus; and Panofka has already remarked the parallel relation to the mythology of Asclepius, of Hippolytus recalled by him to life, and of Aulôn as associated with a health-god on the coin under consideration; of Hippolytus, whose statue is found in fanes of Asclepius, and of Aulônios,<sup>34</sup> whose statue is noticed by Pausanias, in a temple of the god at Aulon, near Pylos, in Messenia.

The same sagacious archæologist has observed, that the parallel holds in the case of yet another founder of the city, Caulos, like Hippolytus, son of an Amazon.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Paus. iii. 3, 1. On a Laconian town Aulôn, cf. Steph. Byz. in v. (who mentions others in Arcadia and Crete), and Plin. H.N. iv. 5.

<sup>34</sup> Sophocles, the charmer of irregular winds, held the hereditary *ἱερωσυνη* of Alôn, a hero, who was a medical student with Asclepius under Cheirôn. (Qy. Alôn=Aulôn.) Vit. Soph.

<sup>35</sup> Kleitè,\* the Amazon mother of Caulos, is called foundress and queen of a city of the same name, said to have been destroyed

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\* Serv. ad Æn. iii. 552—3. Etymol. Mag. in v. *Αυλωνια*. Lycophron v. 1002.



The small figure, in some instances, holds a branch or bush, like that in the hand of the Apollo, though not held in the same active manner; the duplication of the emblem, is argument for its special significance. It must be observed, that in the rite of lustration, it was by no means indifferent what particular plant supplied the branch; it differed in various localities, and probably some particular plant was renowned at Caulonia as locally efficacious. Panofka suggests an intimation, by the type of a bush or *καυλος*, of the name of Caulonia, which is quite within the probabilities of numismatic typology. I cannot, however, consent to accept the bush as a modification of the uprooted trees borne over rocks and precipices by the priests of Apollo Hylates, among the Magnesians. In this practice (traceable, apparently, to stimulating vapours of the sacred cave) I can neither recognise a ceremony, with Panofka, nor a form of lustration, with Mr. Birch; Pausanias<sup>36</sup> having no allusion to lustration by olive branches. Nor am I aware of any relation between Magnesia and Caulonia, that justifies so bold a comparison of their special mythologies. Such a relation exists

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by the Crotonians, who thus appear in a hostile relation to the mother of the hero, who is called the founder of Caulonia, the city in which they themselves had considerable interest. The complication suggests the probability, that the complete legend would furnish Kleitè with a Crotonian husband, and thus complete the parallel to Theseus and Hippolyta ("the bouncing Amazon, his buskined love"), and their son Hippolytus. The tombs of Hippolytus and Aulòn at Sparta appear to be connected with the highly venerated fane of the mighty mother, or great mother; in an obscure matter, perhaps the conjecture may be worth setting down, that the great mother here may have been the nature goddess associated with Amazonian legend, the Ephesian Artemis in Asia—in Italy, it may be, the Amazon Kleitè—at Athens, the Amazon Hippolyta.

<sup>36</sup> Paus. x. 32, 4.

between the Magnetes of Europe and those of Asia ; on whose coins, accordingly, the type of Apollo Hylates is recognised.

My conclusion, then, from the foregoing analysis amounts to this—that the larger figure of the Caulonian coins represents Apollo as sun-god, and god of health and purification, exercising his influence particularly by regulation of the air, by controlling and checking winds, violent or unseasonable, and promoting the periodical return of healthful and seasonable breezes; the smaller figure being a type or emblem of this special influence, as a personified power of the air, or *δαιμων*, intimately connected with a local and national *cult* of the winds, as traceable in the history and mythology of the Achaïans, their expeditions, colonies, and heroes.

The Duc de Luynes proposed as the subject of the coin, Apollo and Aristæus,<sup>37</sup> particularly worshipped at Metapontum as *καθαρτης* or *καθαρσιος*. This is, at least, another example of the combination in the Achaïan cities of Italy, of ideas of purification or lustration, and the *cult* of the winds. Aristæus appears in Apollonius Rhodius, as propitiator of the Etesian winds, the alleviator of the heats of Sirius. Nonnus calls the Etesians *κηρυκες Αρισταυιοι*.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Herod. iv. 15.

<sup>38</sup> Aristæus is, perhaps, the most eligible name on many accounts, for the figure with dog and staff, Asclepian attributes, on the eastern front of the Harpy tomb (Lycian Marbles), and an appropriate antitype to the Harpies, as emblems of stormy winds. In an essay on the monument, printed in 1845, I noticed the dependence of its symbolism on the aspect of its fronts, and that the Harpies were properly wind-powers.\* With the general

\* A coin of Lycia, published in the recent work on that country, of Messrs. Spratt and Forbes, bears a Harpy on one side, and on the other, a running figure with winged sandals.



I have now but one more remark to make in conclusion — it is to the effect, that if the relations of the Hermes of Cyllene, of the Homeric hymn to the Typhonian power of Aigai and Caulonia be closely scrutinised, a task that for various reasons I decline, some mythical analogies may be recognised between them, some significant intimation of a Hermes-Tuphòn (Cf. Hom. Hymn v. 295 ff.) enough to indicate that the coincidence of the poetical and numismatic type is not an accident. On the coin of the British Museum, there is some appearance of the rim of the *πίλος*, and some very distinct of a *ραβδος* in the right hand of the figure. The bush with which he is provided on other specimens, reminds of the myrtle-gathering Hermes of the Homeric hymn, and of Hermes indicator of the herb *μωλυ* to Odusseus in the Odyssey. The ithyphallic Hermes of some types refers to the same circle of mythology, while, on the other hand, the Homeric hymn furnishes a characteristic of the god, his return to his cavern-home in semblance of an autumnal air or mist of the morning,<sup>39</sup> which with his

analysis then given, I am still content; but it is susceptible of extension, by aid of a local tradition that I have since met with, but overlooked in later continental essays on this difficult subject, as well as in my own. The tradition in question, is that of the Triad of Lycian gods noticed by Eusebius, Hesychius, and numerous other authorities, and as Titans bearing remarkable analogy to the Titanic Triad of Athens, the Tritopatores, guards and janitors of the winds; and in this character, as rulers of the triform elements, and as presiders over fruitful marriage, appearing precisely in the character that by tentative analysis I was led to assign to them. The monument thus presents the same association of controlled and controlling powers of elemental nature, that there appears to me reason to recognise on the Caulonian coin.

<sup>39</sup> *δοχμωθείς μεγαροιο δια κληθρον εδυνεν  
αυρη σπωρινη εναλιγκιος, ηντ' ομιχλη. . . .  
ηκα ποσι προβιβων' ου γαρ κτυπεν, ωσπερ επ' ουδει.* v. 146 ff.

relation to Apollo, would suffice to account for the interchange of his personality or attributes with the atmospheric or meteorological *δαίμων* of the mythology of Achaia.

The radiated head of Apollo on some specimens of our coins, declares the personified sun, which with the ancients was a planet; and the suggestion is obvious, that the smaller figure may likewise receive an astronomical interpretation, perhaps as the little planet nearest to the sun (hence the disproportion of the figures), by some assigned to Apollo himself, by others to Hermes.<sup>40</sup> From this constant proximity to the sun, the star is called his *comes* or *satelles*;<sup>41</sup> and rising, in consequence of this position, sometimes just before the sun, and sometimes just after sunset;<sup>42</sup> sometimes in direct motion, and sometimes retrograde, the bright, but tiny, luminary seems not ill typified in the precocious and aspiring brother of Apollo—model for all younger brothers to the end of time—and appropriately characterised in the terms of the hymn—

ληϊστήρ', ελατῆρα βωων, ἡγήτορ' ονειρων,  
νυκτος ὀπωπητήρα, πυλῆδοκον. v. 14.

The *αντρον παλισκιον* of his mother Maia (v. 5) on Mount Cithæron, is identical with that of Hèrè as Leto Muchia or Nuchia in the same place, of which Plutarch records an astronomical interpretation;<sup>43</sup> and more, I doubt not, would be found by such an analysis of the entire legend, as Müller furnished a model for, in his Essay on Orion.

These are but hints and suggestions; but even taken

<sup>40</sup> Pseud. Aristot. de Mundo, cap. 2.

<sup>41</sup> Cicero, Som. Scip. ap. Macrobi. 1. 17.

<sup>42</sup> Plin. H. N. ii. 8. Hygin. Poet. Astron. xvi.

<sup>43</sup> Moral vi. p. 347. Tauch.



absolutely, must by no means be understood as prejudicing the foregone conclusion. The forces that moulded Greek legends into the form in which we receive them, were too diversified, mixed and alternating, to allow us to give a complete resolution of any monument by reference to a single influence. No exclusively Vulcanian or Neptunian theory will enable us to read aright the records of this creation. Athènè herself (to take the first example that presents itself), is, in various legends, the type of the land as opposed to the sea, the nymph of agriculture and increase, goddess of fire and of the arts it subserves, the moon, the rushing firmament, the sacred virgin, the mystic mother, the divine intelligence.

Among the generative ideas that have contributed to the formation of any type under consideration, that to which its origin is chiefly due, and that which determines the predominant character of the special instance, are the great objects to be sought for by analysis; but they will frequently be found at wide distances apart, and, like many others concerned in the result, may well, if scanned negligently, seem incompatible. It is, however, by the adjustment of such combinations, by harmonising these conflicting lights with reference to a single ruling effect, that Greek art, from the earliest forms of its development to the latest, achieves a significance and pregnancy that remain unrivalled.

WILLIAM WATKISS LLOYD.

## II.

ON THE PENNIES OF HENRY WITH THE SHORT  
AND LONG CROSS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, November 26th, 1846.]

DEAR SIR,—I take the liberty of sending you a few observations on the coinage of Henry II. and III., suggested by perusing a paper of Mr. Haigh's published at p. 124 of the "Olla Podrida," (a work obligingly presented to me by the author, Mr. Sainthill, of Cork), in which he considers that all the short cross coins belong to Henry III. Mr. Haigh observes, "Matthew Paris informs us this (1248) coinage differed from the old in *some important particulars.*" In the sole quotation he gives, however, Paris says, "The only difference is, that the double cross went beyond the circle of letters; but in the rest, as to weight, the impression of the head, with the lettered title, remains as before." Surely, Paris might also have noticed the three numerals after Henry, as also that he has a widely different crown on; but Hollingshed has pointed out so many inaccuracies of Matthew Paris, that his assertion, although a contemporary writer, is far from conclusive in my estimation.

The coins usually ascribed to Henry I., have the head both in front and in profile; and, from their scarcity, and the similarity of their types and legends to those of the Williams, are most likely properly appropriated. The new coinage in Henry II.'s reign (he having called in all the light and clipped money to be re-coined), and subsequently



his proclamation, that none but the new coin should be current, are not only sufficient to account for their great rarity, but also go a great way in proving that they must have been coined by that prince. So much for the coins of Henry I.

Henry II. seems to have been the first king after the conquest, who made any considerable regulations on money affairs. Stow says, "He suppressed the mints which every earl and baron had in Stephen's time, and *altered the coin* which was corrupted by the usurers, whom he grievously punished." In his third year, he coined new money, which only was current in the realm, all other coins being forbidden.

In 1159, he made a new coin in England, and in 1180, as Ranulph de Diceto and Stow say, "He re-coined all the light and broken money, and called in all the bad. Hollingshed also mentions, that in 1180 he sent for an artist, Philip Aymary of Tours, to superintend a new and improved coinage. Adam de Bedleia, Richard de Neketon, and William Ta, having been moneyers, whose names appear on the short double cross coins ascribed to Henry II., and who, on the authority of Madox, were moneyers at London in the fourteenth year of Henry III., and a person named Ilger, whose name appears on some of the short cross coins, being *custos monetæ* at London, in the sixth year of Henry III., Ruding and others have thereby been led to appropriate these short cross Henries to that king (Henry III.). Now in the first place, that the same persons should have been moneyers to Henry II. and III. both, is neither impossible nor improbable, the difference between their respective reigns being but twenty-seven years; and again, in the years immediately succeeding the Conquest, there is every reason to suppose that the art of

coining was exclusively exercised by certain families, and that in consequence of the paucity of the Anglo-Norman vocabulary of that period, together with the predilection (still existing) of calling some of the sons after the father or grandfather, it is more than probable that the trade of the father was, together with his name, handed down to his children, after the manner of the ancient Egyptians. It therefore need not, under such circumstances, be matter of wonder, should the same names appear on the coins of half a dozen successive sovereigns.

2ndly. The moneyers of Henry III., as Leake acutely observes, would hardly be guilty of the solecism of representing him in the sixteenth year of his age with a long beard and old face, together with a crown, sceptre, and reverse totally different from what was afterwards used on his coin, whereas those with the numerals, said not to be coined until his thirty-second year, are remarkable for the youthfulness of the king's appearance upon them.

3rdly. The reverses of the coins of William the Lion, who was successively cotemporary with Henry II., Richard I., and John, will be found not only nearly similar in type to those appropriated by Leake to Henry II., but also to the reverses of the coins of John reading *Dominus*, which were coined in the early part of his father's reign, while on the obverse of all the double cross coins of William, the cap consists of pearls similar to the crown of Henry.

4thly. The probability that the moneyers of Scotland should rather copy the type of the English coinage, than that the moneyers of England should copy theirs; an hypothesis which will at once be apparent on contrasting the coins of the first three Edwards, with those of Robert and David Bruce their cotemporaries; and recollecting that the first Scotch groats coined by David, did not appear



until after the issue of the English groats by Edward ; that on their obverse the king's head was enclosed in a tressure, the reverse having two circles of legends, and their weight being 72 grains, precisely that of Edward's. And what renders this more probable, is the blundered French legend on William's coins, a compliment no doubt to Henry II. whose prisoner he then was, and who then held his court in Normandy ; these coins being supposed by Cardonnel to be struck for the purpose of paying his ransom.

5thly. William the Lion did not come to the throne of Scotland until eleven years after the accession of Henry II., and eight years after he (Henry II.) had ordered a new coinage. This circumstance, together with the fact, that no coin of any of the Scottish monarchs preceding William has as yet been decidedly pronounced as such by numismatists, proves beyond a doubt that his coins must have been copied from those of Henry, whilst their weight being also similar to the English sterling, strengthens the conjecture.

6thly. The abundance of the short cross coins of Henry, dug up every day in Ireland, and introduced most probably by the early Anglo-Norman invaders of it, and by Henry II. himself, when he subjugated Ireland in 1172.

7thly. The comparative rarity of those with the numerals and long cross, when contrasted with the short cross coins, produced no doubt by the scarcity of money in Henry III.'s reign, which had become very great through the immensity squandered by him in his two French expeditions, when he is said to have taken no less than fifty barrels of sterlings with him out of the kingdom, as also through the avarice of his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, who farmed the mints, and who, when created king of the Romans, carried 700,000 pounds sterling with him to Germany, which produced

such a want of circulating medium, and so inundated the country with base moneys, that a grievous famine was the consequence.

8thly. No Irish money of Henry III. with the short cross having as yet been discovered, it is not likely that the Earl of Cornwall, who farmed all the royal mints, and who was rather grasping in his disposition, should permit those of Dublin to remain unproductive so long (Dublin being one of the mints mentioned in the proclamation for the new coinage); therefore, if the long cross was not introduced on his coins until his thirty-second year, Irish coins with the short cross and triangle should be common; but none as yet have appeared.

9thly. The crown on King John's money, instead of consisting of a row of five pearls, with a cross of pearls in the centre, is exactly similar in type to that on the coins of Henry III. with the numerals, consisting of a thick line with turned-up ends terminating in pearls, and with a fleur-de-lis in its centre.

Finally, in how few instances out of thirty-two mints, does the same mint-master's name occur on the short and long double-cross Henries, a thing almost impossible, if both were coined by the same monarch; whilst the change in the orthography of the places of mintage and moneyers' names, which from being semibarbarous on the short, change, on the long cross coins, to names differing little from those of the present day, proves they cannot have been the coinage of the same monarch, *ex.gra.*

Short-cross.

Brust

Oxene

Joan

Rodbert

Cardi

for Bristol

for Oxford

for John

for Robert

for Carlisle

Long-cross.

Brist

Oxonia.

John

Robert

Carlel

VOL. X.

E



These, which I believe to be facts, are in favour of the short cross coins being struck, not only during the reign of William the Lion, but also prior to that of King John, whose face on his *Dominus* coins, stamped during the lifetime of his father, is surrounded by pearls; whereas, on his *Rex* coins, the crown has been changed to that form which subsequently appears on the numerical coins of his son and successor Henry III., and which is of a more elegant type; there being as yet no example of any of the English monarchs substituting, for an improved form of crown on their coins, one of more barbarous delineation. At the same time, we see a similar type of crown, namely the open crown *fleuré*, on the coins of Alexander II. and III., who were successively cotemporaries with Henry III.

I am,

Dear Sir,

Your's truly,

WILLIAM YORKE MOORE.

EDWARD HAWKINS, Esq.  
etc. etc. etc.

### III.

#### FURTHER REMARKS ON THE PENNIES OF HENRY WITH THE SHORT AND LONG CROSS.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, January 28, 1847.]

A small hoard of coins was discovered at Teston, in the county of Kent, towards the close of the past year. It consisted of thirty-seven pennies of the type commonly called the short cross, (No. 286 in Mr. Hawkins' work,) attributed by him to Henry II.; and of three pennies of William the Lion, king of Scotland; and it is believed that these forty coins constituted the entire find.

The coins of Henry are of the following mints and moneyers:—

Canterbury	-	-	Coldwine	-	-	1
			Johan	-	-	1
			Johan B.	-	-	1 ( <i>Pl. No. 1</i> )
			Johan M.	-	-	1
			Meinir	-	-	1
			Samuel	-	-	2
						— 7
Chichester	-	-	Willelm	-	-	1
Durham	-	-	Pieres	-	-	1
London	-	-	Abel	-	-	5
			Fulke	-	-	2
			Ilger	-	-	9
			Rauf	-	-	2
			Walter	-	-	4
			Willem T.	-	-	1
						— 23
Nicole (? <i>Lincoln</i> )	-		Hue	-	-	1
No ( <i>Northampton or</i>						
<i>Norwich</i> )	-		Renaud	-	-	1
Winchester	-	-	Lukas	-	-	1
York	-	-	Nicole	-	-	1
Double struck	-		Simon	-	-	1
						— 37

The British Museum possesses specimens of each of the above moneyers, under the respective mints.

The legends and types of the three pennies of William the Lion, are as follows:—

1. *Obv.*—+LqTAMLR  
*R.*—+Dq . . . LqO
2. *Obv.*—+WILqLQVS RqX  
*R.*—+pVq ON qDNqBVR
3. *Obv.*—+WILAM.  
*R.*—+pqNR . . . VS

Type similar to Lindsay, Pl. 2, No. 37. The obverse legend probably blundered from "Le Rei Wilam."

Lindsay, Pl. 2, No. 38.

This last coin differs somewhat from No. 39 of Lindsay, and is engraved in the accompanying Plate, No. 2.



The whole of the coins appear to have been little if at all in circulation; but the English pennies are more imperfectly struck than is generally the case with coins of the type.

The discovery of so small a number of coins of well-known and ordinary types would hardly be worth recording, if it were not for the opportunity which it affords of offering a few remarks on the controversy, which has arisen within the last few years, as to the correct appropriation of the pennies of Henry with the short cross. These coins were assigned to Henry II., by Archbishop Sharpe, Leake, Fleetwood, and Tindal (in the notes to his translation of Rapin's History of England), the earliest writers on the English coinage, chiefly on the assumption, that because certain coins of Henry III. bore the numerals III. or *Terci*, no coins on which those numerals do not appear, could be considered as belonging to him. It is, however, by no means a necessary consequence, that because the numerals were used by Henry III. on his money, they must have been adopted at the very commencement of his reign. Accordingly, Snelling and subsequent authors, relying upon Matthew Paris, who states that the long cross was not adopted upon the coinage until the thirty-second year of Henry III., have treated the short cross coins as his first issue; and this opinion had been generally acquiesced in, until Mr. Hawkins, in his work on the English Silver Coinage, published in 1841, re-transferred them to Henry II.

The hoard recently discovered throws little light on this question. But if an inference can be drawn either way from the type of the three coins of William the Lion which were found with those of Henry, it would seem to lead to the appropriation of the latter to Henry III, rather than to Henry II. William the Lion reigned from 1165 to 1214.

Many of his pennies, while they bear considerable resemblance to the coins of Stephen, and to one or two of the types usually attributed to Henry I, are very different in type from those of his successor, Alexander II, to which others of his coins are very similar. Cardonnel and Lindsay, therefore, in the absence of any means of determining the chronology of the different types of William's money from mint or other records, conclude that the former class constitute the coinage of the early part of his reign, and that the others were a late issue. Now, as the three coins found at Teston were of this later sort, and as the interval between the death of Henry II. and the death of William the Lion is twenty-five years, while the interval between William's death and the date at which the first general coinage of Henry III. took place (1222), is only eight years, it seems reasonable to presume, that the English coins found at Teston were of that king whose reign approximated the most closely to the last years of William the Lion; and more especially, as it is probable that Scotch coins discovered in England are of earlier date than English coins found in the same hoard.

Mr. Hawkins assigns no reasons for transferring the short cross pennies back to Henry II. But a paper by Major Moore was lately read before the Numismatic Society, which contained some ingenious arguments in support of that appropriation. On the other hand, Mr. Sainthill and Mr. Haigh have vigorously contended against the disturbance of the received arrangement; and as the reasons alleged on either side of the question have never yet appeared in juxtaposition, I shall devote the remainder of this paper to a brief examination of them, and to the suggestion of any further facts or remarks which may occur to me with reference to the subject.



The proof alleged in support of the attribution of these coins to Henry III, is chiefly twofold:—

First.—*The coincidence of the names of moneyers on the short and long cross coins.*

Mr. Haigh, in a paper printed in Mr. Sainthill's volume, entitled "*Olla Podrida*," p. 128, gives a long list of moneyers whose names occur on the respective coinages, and shews that eight names on the London coins, five on those of Canterbury, two on those of Lincoln and Northampton, and one each, on those of Bristol, Exeter, Norwich, Oxford, and York, are common to both.

On making a similar comparison between the coins of Henry II. of the type, Hawkins, No. 285, with the short cross coins in the British Museum, I find that two names on the Canterbury coins, two on those of Exeter, five on those of London, one (or two, if *Rein* and *Renald* may be considered the same) on those of Northampton or Norwich, two on those of St. Edmundsbury or Shaftesbury, and one on those of Winchester, are in like manner common to both.

It is plain, therefore, that the coincidence of moneyers' names is a species of evidence which may be used either way; and it must moreover be borne in mind, that Mr. Sainthill and Mr. Haigh had an unusual opportunity of availing themselves of it, from the circumstance that a find of seven hundred long cross coins of Henry III. fell into the hands of the former, and of course furnished him with a great variety of mints and moneyers for comparison. If any large hoard of short cross coins should hereafter be discovered, it is probable that it would furnish materials on both sides of the question, for strengthening this branch of evidence.

But I cannot help concurring with Major Moore in opi-

nion, that much weight is not to be attached to this branch of proof.

The names of moneyers which are given by Mr. Haigh as occurring on coins of the same mint, both with the short and long cross, are as follows:—

London . . .	{	Davi.	Lincoln . . .	{	Walter.
		Henri.			Willem.
		Johan.	Northampton .	{	Philip.
		Nicole.			Willem.
		Reinaud.	Bristol . . .		Henri.
Canterbury .	{	Ricard.	Exeter . . .		Johan.
		Walter.			
		Willem.	Norwich . . .		Johan.
		Johan.	Oxford . . .		Gefrei.
		Nicole.			
	{	Robert.	York . . .		Tomas.
		Walter.			
		Willem			

The names of moneyers found to occur on coins of Henry II. and on the short cross coins of the same mint, are—

London	{	Gefrei.	Exeter . . .	{	Ricard.
		Johan.			Roger.
		Pieres.	Northampton or Norwich	{	Rein. Renald
		Ricard.			Willelm.
Canterbury	{	Rodbert.	St. Edmunds- bury or Shaf- tesbury.	{	Rauf.
					Willelm
		Roger.	Winchester .		Robert.
		Willem.			

The first list comprises twelve different names, the latter nine, or ten if *Rodbert* and *Robert* are considered to be different names.

It will however be observed, that by far the greater part of these names are of the most ordinary occurrence, as Johan, Willelm, Ricard, Henri, Tomas, Nicole, Robert,



Rauf; and as there perhaps has never been a time since the days of Henry II, when a John, or William, or Thomas, might not be found among the moneyers, much stress can hardly be laid on the occurrence of such names on coins of two types, as proving them to be of the same king; and particularly as there is every reason to believe, that the son frequently inherited the office of moneyer from his father, as well as his name. If, on the one hand, the names of *Davi* and *Philip* are somewhat unusual, on the other, that of *Pieres* is even more so: and moreover, the very uncommon name of *Aschetil* occurs on the coins of Henry II. and on a short cross coin,<sup>1</sup> though not of the same mint. But as it is of Wilton on the former, and Exeter on the latter, it would be by no means an improbable supposition, considering the relative position of the two towns, that the same person is referred to on both.

Secondly.—*Evidence supplied by Records and Contemporary Writers.*

It must be admitted, that the proof drawn from these sources is at present wholly on the side of those who assign the short cross coins to Henry III. Matthew Paris, a contemporary writer, expressly states, that in the thirty-second year of Henry III. (A.D. 1248) a general re-coinage took place; and that in the new money the type was so far altered, that the double cross was made to pass through the lettered circle; but that in other respects, as to weight, obverse, and legend, it continued as before.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This coin is not to be found in the British Museum, nor have I myself seen a short cross coin bearing the name of *Aschetil*; but it is given on the authority of the list in Mr. Sainthill's *Olla Podrida*, p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> His words are: "Cujus inquam monetæ forma a veteri diversicabatur in tantum, quod crux duplicata limbum literatum pertransibat; in reliquis autem, pondere, capitali impressione, cum literato titulo, permanente ut prius."

Doubts have been thrown on the accuracy of the statement of Matthew Paris on this subject; because he says the obverse of the coins remained as before, without noticing the introduction of the numerals. But it must be remembered, that he had been treating of the extensive frauds committed by clipping the old coin even to the inner circle: and it may fairly be inferred, that in describing the new, he mentioned only the especial point of difference (the extension of the double cross to the outer edge) which was adopted to remedy that evil; without noticing mere variations of type which were foreign to the purpose of his narrative. This view of the matter is confirmed by the circumstance that neither does he notice the novel appearance of three pellets in the quarters of the reverse, instead of the cross botoné which is found on the short cross coins.

I therefore see no sufficient reason for discrediting the old historian on a matter of fact which must have been within his personal knowledge, even if no collateral proof had been obtainable from other sources. But it so happens that such collateral proof is not wanting.

Mr. Haigh has produced a remarkable corroboration derived from an entry in the Patent Rolls. Among the coins of the Canterbury mint with the short cross, there is one reading *Simon on Cant.*, and another reading *William Ta on C.* The entry in question, under date of the fourteenth year of Henry III, states, that the king had granted to *William* his *tailor*, the custody of the money-die which *Simon Chich*, lately deceased, had held in the City of Canterbury.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Through the kindness of Mr. Hardy, I have been enabled to examine the original Roll preserved in the Tower. The words of the entry, divested of contractions, are as follows:—



It is also recorded, in a roll quoted in Madox's History of the Exchequer, that in the sixth year of Henry III., *Ilger*, the king's goldsmith, was appointed one of the *custodes monetæ* of the city of London. His name appears frequently on the short cross pennies, but not on those with the long cross. Out of twenty-three London pennies in the Teston hoard, no less than nine bear his name.

*Adam* de Bedleia, and *Richard* de Neketon<sup>4</sup> are mentioned in Madox as moneyers in London in the fourteenth year of Henry III. The name of *Ricard* appears as a moneyer on both the short and long cross coins; but that of *Adam* on the former only.

The Scottish historians state, that the improvement of extending the cross to the outer edge of the coin was adopted in Scotland by Alexander III. in 1250. Considering how rapidly the Scottish monarchs adopted other improvements or changes in the English coinage, it can hardly be supposed that an alteration so obviously for the better, would not have been followed for nearly thirty years; yet that must have been the case, if the long cross was used on the coins of Henry III. from the beginning of his reign.

I am not aware that anything has yet been produced in favour of the appropriation of the short cross coins to Henry II., to rebut this historical proof on the opposite side.

*De cuneo Cantuar'.*

¶ Rex concessit magistro Willelmo Scissori suo, quod quamdiu vixerit habeat custodiam cunei Cantuar' quod fuit in custodia Simonis Chich qui mortuus est, et quod post mortem ipsius Simonis commisit Rex eidem Willelmo custodiendum ad voluntatem suam. Teste Rege apud Portesm' xxviii. die Aprilis.

<sup>4</sup> Richard de Neketon is included in the list of moneyers of Henry III. given by Ruding. I have never seen or heard of any coin bearing the name thus in full; and I imagine that Ruding (who appears not to have been a practical numismatist) must have inserted the name merely on the authority of Madox.

Among the reasons adduced by Major Moore in support of that view are:—

First.—Correspondence in type with coins of earlier date than the Reign of Henry III.

He argues that the short cross coins belong to Henry II., from the resemblance of their reverse to that of the coins of William the Lion of Scotland, and also to that of the early Irish coins of John, which read DOM.; because it is more likely that the Scottish and Irish moneyers copied an English type which already existed, than that the English moneyers copied a Scottish or Irish type. This argument of course rests on the assumption, that until the appearance of the short cross coins of Henry, there was no English type which could have served as a model for those coinages of William the Lion, or of John. Such an assumption, however, is entirely destitute of foundation. The reverse of the later coins of William the Lion, to which alone Major Moore can refer, bears even a greater resemblance to that of one of the most usual types of Stephen (Hawkins, pl. xxi. No. 269), than it does to the reverse of the short cross coins of Henry:<sup>5</sup> and it is moreover obvious, on an inspection of the remarkable coin of William, engraved in Lindsay (pl. ii., No. 33), that his moneyers took the coins of Stephen as a pattern.<sup>6</sup> In like manner, the reverse of the Irish half-pennies of John which read DOM., is quite as similar to the reverses of the coins of Henry I., Hawkins, pl. 20, Nos. 256 and 264, as it is to the short cross coins of Henry.<sup>7</sup>

Secondly.—Another argument adduced by Major Moore

<sup>5</sup> The reverses of one coin of each of the three types referred to, are given for the purpose of comparison in the Plate, Nos. 3, 4, and 5.

<sup>6</sup> See in the Plate, a coin of Stephen, No. 6, for comparison with the coin of William the Lion, No. 7.



to prove that the short cross coins must be of Henry II., is the non-discovery of any Irish money of Henry III. with the short cross. If, says he, the coinage of all the earlier part of the reign of Henry III. had been of that type, it might have been expected that short cross coins with the Irish obverse would have been common, whereas none have ever yet appeared. The non-appearance of any Irish money of Henry III. with the short cross, may however be accounted for by the abundant Irish coinage issued by his predecessor John, not only during the life of Henry II., but also towards the end of his own reign. The first notice of his coinage in Ireland, after he became king, occurs in his eleventh year (1210), and this coinage may have rendered a further issue for the service of Ireland unnecessary at the commencement of the reign of Henry III.

Other reasons are offered by Major Moore in support of his view of the question; but none, I think, which are equally plausible with those already adverted to. He alleges, for instance, the aged appearance of the bust on the short cross coins as a presumption against their being intended for the representation of a youthful sovereign. But the coins of our other early kings afford scarcely any evidence to support the idea that the mint artists of those days ever attempted a portrait.

Again, from the similarity of the crown on the Irish regal coins of John, to that on the long-cross coins of Henry III., he draws the inference, that the short-cross coins, upon which the crown is of a different form, must have been of a preceding and not an intervening type. The degree of resemblance will be estimated by numismatists on comparison of the respective types: to me it does not appear striking.

<sup>7</sup> See the reverses of all three in the Plate, Nos. 8, 9, and 10.

Major Moore further rests his case on an improvement and modernisation in the orthography of names and places, which he conceives he finds on the long cross coins. Even admitting the exact accuracy of the observation, it would not much affect the question at issue, because the interval of time between the two coinages does not greatly differ on either supposition. But I confess I cannot discover any material difference in this respect between the two types, unless one of the best spelt specimens of the first be contrasted with a specimen of the other, on which less than the average amount of scholarship has been manifested. If the name of Oxford is improved from *Oxene* on the short cross coins, to the classical orthography of *Oxonia*, on one specimen with the long cross; on the other hand, Exeter is deteriorated from *Exes* to *Eccet* or *Ecet*; *Norwic*, to *Norwiz*; Shrewsbury, from *Salw* to *Sros*; while York is still *Everwic*, and not *Eboraci*.

The comparative rarity of the long cross coins over those with the short cross is also alleged by Major Moore. In this country, however, I am not aware there is much difference in this respect, both varieties being among the commonest of the English series. Nor is it easy to see the force of the argument, that this alleged more frequent occurrence of the short cross coins, arises from a large introduction of them into Ireland by Henry II. in 1172; the earliest date assigned to them, on any hypothesis, being 1180.

Professor Holmboe of Christiania, in an account of a hoard discovered in Norway, among which were four of the short cross coins, has endeavoured to prove that they are of Henry II. I have not his tract to refer to; nor if I had, do I possess that knowledge of continental coins which would enable me to form a judgment as to his conclusions. But Mr. Haigh, in his paper on the long and short cross



coins to which I have already referred, states that the Professor can only prove the short cross coins to be Henry the Second's, by changing the previously received attribution of some of the coins found in the hoard, and by passing over others without notice.

Having thus touched upon the most material points urged on both sides, I proceed to notice a fact which militates against the appropriation of the short cross coins to Henry II., namely, the existence of one or two specimens of coins of that type, but having the legend "*Lunde Civitas*," on the reverse, without the name of a moneyer.<sup>8</sup> It is true that these coins do not furnish conclusive proof against such an appropriation, because, as it is admitted on all hands that the long cross coinage is of later date than the other, that coinage, on which the names of moneyers are continued after the old plan, must have intervened between the striking of the coins reading "*Lunde Civitas*," and the general suppression of the names of moneyers which took place in the reign of Edward I.; and if the old form of reverse legend was resumed on one coinage, it might have been reverted to on more than one. But if the short cross coins are assigned to Henry II., the first instance of the suppression of the moneyer's name would be thrown forty years further back than if they are attributed to Henry III.; an hypothesis by no means probable.

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<sup>8</sup> Mr. Cuff possesses two specimens of the coin reading *Lunde Civitas*; and there is one in the British Museum. Mr. Cuff's coins in other respects resemble the usual type. The Museum specimen varies from it considerably. The portrait is different in character and detail; the legend commences over the head instead of at the side; and the sceptre, which on coins of the usual type leans towards the outer edge of the coin, in this one inclines from the outer circle, so that the cross at the end of it comes just above the head, and serves also for the usual cross at the commencement of the legend. See Plate, No. 11.

On the whole therefore, it appears to me that no sufficient reason has yet been shewn for the re-transfer of the short cross coins from Henry III. to Henry II.

It may be said, that either appropriation involves the difficulty of the entire disappearance of an extensive coinage. If we give the short cross coins to Henry II., and admit the evidence of records, that Henry III. issued a coinage in his sixth year, as well as the assertion of Matthew Paris, that the long cross was not adopted until Henry's thirty-second year, then we have no specimen remaining to our times of the first of Henry's issue. If, on the other hand, we assign the short cross coins to Henry III., then the general coinage issued by Henry II. in 1180, under the superintendence of Philip Aymary of Tours, has entirely disappeared.

When we consider that many types of the money of Henry I. and Stephen are known only by one or two specimens, and that no English pennies of John have ever been discovered, although there is considerable evidence of a coinage having taken place in his reign, the latter supposition would appear more probable than the former.

But I would suggest for consideration, as a possible solution of this difficulty, whether the coins of Henry II. of the type, No. 285, Pl. xxii. of Hawkins, may be those issued in 1180. It is true that Radulf de Diceto expressly states that coinage to have been *round* money; while the far greater part of the coins of this type which remain at this day, are by no means remarkable for rotundity: in fact I have one which is in shape a parallelogram. But on examining the specimens in the Museum Cabinet (the greater part of which came from the hoard discovered at Tealby in 1807), I find many which have evidently been struck in a collar, and are as perfectly circular as money of the present



day. Although the great majority of them are so exceedingly ill-struck, that only a part of the legend is visible on either side, yet here and there a well-struck specimen occurs, shewing the whole type and legend, and is a coin which would fully answer the description given to the coinage of 1180. The existence of such perfect specimens clearly proves, that the unsightliness of the greater proportion of this coinage arose, not from a defect of design, incompleteness of die, or want of means for producing circularity, but solely from mechanical negligence on the part of the mint workmen. Radulf de Diceto states that Philip Aymary, having been strongly suspected of conniving at the frauds of the moneyers, was after a time dismissed by Henry, and sent back to France. It would therefore appear that he did not superintend the execution of the whole of this coinage; and it is not improbable that those remaining specimens which are round and well-struck, may have been produced under his management; and that those which are imperfect were coined after his departure up to the end of the king's reign, the moneyers having relapsed into their former slovenliness of execution.

The appropriation of the coins of Henry I. and II. to their respective reigns is, as all English collectors are aware, a matter of great uncertainty, except as regards a few types, which from their resemblance to the coins of William the Conqueror and Rufus, may, with little doubt, be attributed to Henry I.<sup>9</sup> The coins of Henry II. to which I

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<sup>9</sup> It is a remarkable fact, that while it is easy to discriminate between the coins struck by kings of the same name from the days of Ethelred I. to the Norman Conquest, it is one of the most difficult points connected with English Numismatic history, to establish satisfactory principles of distinction between the respective coinages of several of the monarchs of a later date bearing the

have adverted above, were formerly attributed by some writers to Henry I., and by others to Henry II.; and Mr. Combe, in his account of the Tealby find, published in vol. xviii. of the *Archæologia*, states it only as highly probable, or "nearly certain," that they really belonged to the latter monarch; and I am not aware that they were proved to be his, until Sir Henry Ellis, in 1837, demonstrated it, by a comparison of two of these coins in the British Museum, struck at Wilton and bearing the names of Achetil and Lantier as moneyers, with the record called the Chancellor's Roll of the eleventh of Henry II. (1165) also in the British Museum, in which Anschetil and Lantier occur as moneyers at Wilton.

As the coinage of Philip Aymary did not take place till fifteen years after the date of this record, the occurrence of the names of the two moneyers therein mentioned on coins of Henry II. is certainly a presumption that they were of an earlier issue. It is, however, by no means impossible, or even improbable, that the two moneyers may have still continued in office down to 1180, or that they may have been succeeded by men bearing the same name. The name of one of them, indeed, appears on the short-cross coinage as a moneyer at Exeter, as I have before observed.

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same name. The coins of Æthelred I. and Æthelred II.; of Edward the Elder, Edward the Martyr, and Edward the Confessor; of Harold I. and Harold II.—from their resemblance to the types of preceding or succeeding sovereigns—are readily assignable to their respective owners; but, with the exception of a few types, it is not at present possible to distinguish, with any certainty, between the coins of William I. and William II.; Edward I. and Edward II., and, in some instances, Edward III.; or Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. Even down to the reign of Henry VIII., the correct attribution of every coin is not certain. There are groats which may belong either to Henry VI. or Henry VII.; and pennies which may be either of Henry VII. or Henry VIII.



If this hypothesis as to the coinage of 1180 is deemed feasible, I would further suggest that the earlier coinages of Henry II. may be sought for in such of the types usually (but doubtfully) attributed to Henry I., as most resemble the coins of Stephen and John, as Nos. 256, 258, 259, 264, 265, of Hawkins.

I. B. BERGNE.

#### REFERENCE TO THE PLATE.

- No. 1.—Penny of Henry II. with the short cross, from the find at Teston.  
 R.—+ IOHAN· B· ON· CAN.  
 2.—Penny of William the Lion, of Scotland, from ditto.  
 R.—HENR . . . VS.  
 { 3.—Reverse of a Penny of Stephen, in the British Museum  
 { 4.— ditto of William the Lion, ditto  
 { 5.— ditto of Henry with the short cross, do.  
 { 6.—Penny of Stephen, in the British Museum.  
 { 7.—Ditto of William the Lion, in ditto.  
 { 8.—Reverse of Irish Half-penny of John.  
 { 9 and 10.—Reverses of different Pennies of Henry I.  
 11.—Penny of Henry, with the short cross reverse, reading  
 LVNDE CIVITAS, in the British Museum.

No 37



Æ



27



28



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30



31



32



33



34



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36



37



38



39



H.A. Ogg. sculp.

B.N. possit.

LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, TAVERN AND TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.







13



A



14



15



16



17



18



19



20



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24



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26



B.N. pinet.

H.A. Ogg. sculp.

LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, TAVERN AND TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.





E



1



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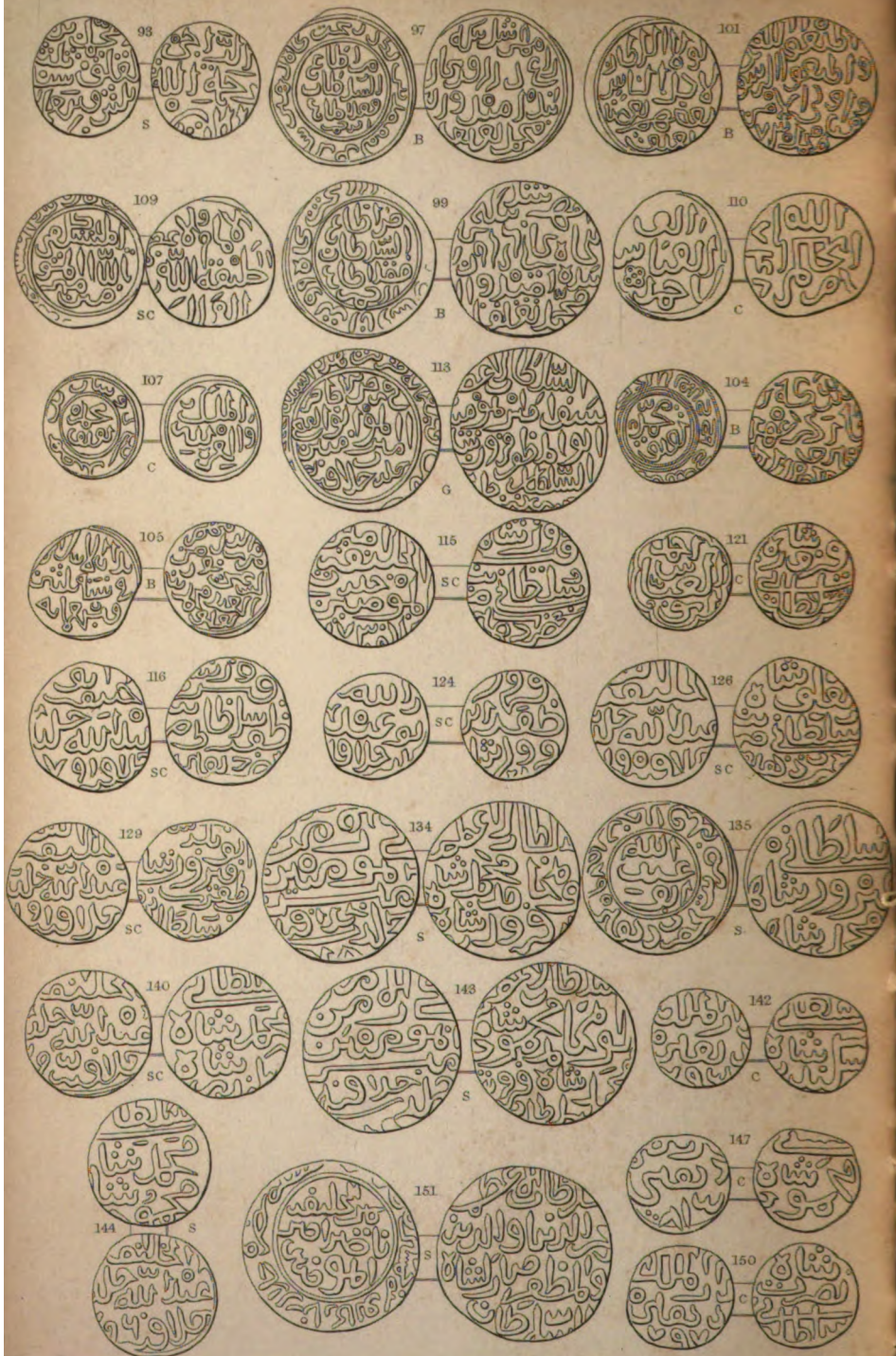
B.N. pinxit.

H.A. Opp. sculp.

LONDON COFFEE HOUSE, TAVERN AND TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.









IV.

COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS  
OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

(Continued from vol. ix., page 182.)

74.—Copper. (*Lord Auckland.*)

*Obv.*—(vr). السلطان الاعظم ناصر الدنيا و الدين.

*R.*—Centre خسرو شاه

*Marg.*—السلطان ولي امير المؤمنين

The only numeral visible on this coin is that which must of necessity be taken to be the final figure of the annual date. This particular figure, looking to the then uncertain method of formation, as noticeable on the coins of the Patán kings immediately antecedent to the reign to which this piece refers, may either be taken to represent a naught or a five.<sup>14</sup> Accepting then the nearest proximate date, concluding with either one or the other of these numerals, it will be necessary to refer the issue of this coin to either the year 720 or 725: as the sultan whose name it bears is stated by historians to have attained power on the 25th of the third month of 721 H. The former is naturally the

<sup>14</sup> Ex. gr. see coins 59 and 79.



preferable date: in adopting it, but slight violence is done to the probably accumulated errors of successive MS. copyists, who have each in their day transcribed the history of Hindústán from the 14th to the 19th century.

#### EIGHTEENTH KING (A.H. 721—725; A.D. 1321—1325).

On the 1st of Shabán, 721, Gházi Beg Tuglak, the governor of Lahore, who had relieved Delhí from the rule of Khusrú, entered the capital in triumph, and, appealing to the people to choose their own sovereign, he was himself elected by acclamation, receiving from the populace the title of *Sháh Jehán* (king of the world); which epithet, however, he replaced by the more modest denomination of *Ghiás ud din* (defender of the faith). The early arrangements for the peace and security of his dominions adopted by the monarch thus elevated, fully justified the selection of the citizens of the metropolis.

The second year of this reign was marked by the failure of the army under Fukur ud din Júnah, the heir apparent, in an attempt to take Wurangól: to this succeeded a somewhat calamitous retreat, which ended in the prince's reaching Delhí with but a small remnant of the host by whom he had once been supported. Little time, however, was allowed to elapse before a more determined and better organised effort against this place met with full success.

In 724, the emperor proceeded in person into Bengal: here he received the allegiance of Násir ud din, the son of the sultan Balban; who, from the date of his first appointment in 680 H., had, under various terms and with varied boundaries, held the dependencies of this government, and who had already outlived no less than eight of the sultans

who had in turn attained the throne of Delhí. He was now again confirmed in the charge of Western Bengal, Tatar Khan, the sultan's adopted son, being entrusted with the direction of the eastern portion of that kingdom, where he succeeded in defeating and capturing the rebel governor, Buhádur Sháh. Ghias ud din, on his return to Hindústán, was met by his son Júnah, who had been left as his representative in Delhí. During the course of an entertainment, given in honor of the occasion, the emperor was killed by the fall of a portion of a temporary building, which had been hastily erected to receive him.

75.—Gold. 171 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—السُّلْطَانُ السَّعِيدُ الشَّهِيدُ الْغَازِي غِيَاثُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ

The sultan, the fortunate, the testifier, the Ghází, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din.

*R.*—*Area* ۷۲۱ اَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ تَغْلِقْشَاهُ اَنَارَ اِلَٰهَ بَرَهَانَهْ Abúl Mu-  
zafar Tughlak Sháh. May God illumine his testimony. 721.

*Marg.*—ضرب هذه السكه - - عشرين و سبعمائة  
This coin was struck - - (in) seven hundred and  
twenty-

76.—Gold. 173 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السُّلْطَانُ الْغَازِي غِيَاثُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ اَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ The  
sultan, the Ghází, Ghiás ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Mu-  
zafar.

*R.*—*Area* سَكَنْدَرُ الثَّانِي يَمِينُ الْخِلَافَةِ نَاصِرُ اَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ  
Alexander the Second, right hand of the khalifat, sup-  
porter of the commander of the faithful.

*Marg.*— - - - ضرب هذه الا

77.—Silver. 170 grs. R.

*Obv.*—السُّلْطَانُ الْغَازِي غِيَاثُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ اَبُو الْمُظْفَرِ

*R.*—*Area* تَغْلِقْ شَاهُ السُّلْطَانِ نَاصِرُ اَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ



*Marg.*—ضرب هذه السكه بقلعة ديوكير في سنة احدى عشرين.  
This coin (was) struck at the fortress of Deogir,  
in the year 721.

78.—Silver. 170 grs. R. A similar coin struck at Delhí in 724.

R.—*Marg.*—ضرب هذه السكه بحضرة دهلي في سنة اربع و  
عشرين وسبعماية

79.—Silver and copper. 54 grs.

*Obv.*—۷۲۵ السلطان الغازي غياث الدنيا والدين

R.—*Area* تعلق شاه

*Marg.*—श्री: सुलतां गयासुदीन

80.—Silver and copper. 55 grs. C.

*Obv.*—السلطان الغازي غياث الدنيا والدين

R.—۷۲۱ ابو المظفر تعلق شاه السلطان

81.—Copper. 53 grs. R.

*Obv.*—تعلق

R.—شاه

NINETEENTH KING (A.H. 725—752; A.D. 1325—1351).

On the death of his father, Fukur ud din Júnah, otherwise called Aluf Khán, ascended the throne of Delhí under the title of Mohammed bin Tuglak. The epoch of this accession has been rendered notable by the immense sums which were lavished by the new monarch with almost unexampled profusion. Mohammed Tuglak's personal acquirements are described by the writers of the day in the most laudatory terms: he was, at the same time, the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; his letters, both in Persian and Arabic, have been since regarded as models of such compositions: in brief, he was "one of the wonders of the age in which he lived." The only failing

he was as yet discovered to possess, was "a want of mercy." In 727, Hindústán was invaded by the Moghul Turmush-rín Khán: the emperor, unable to oppose him, was forced to buy off the Gaul with almost the price of the kingdom he wished to save. About this time, Mohammed Tuglak turned his attention to the reduction of the countries to the southward of his own dominions, and succeeded so effectually, that many valuable provinces were as fully "incorporated with the empire as the villages in the vicinity of Delhí:" he also subdued the whole Carnatic to the extremities of the Dukhun, from sea to sea; but, in the convulsions which shortly afterwards shook the kingdom, all these new acquisitions, with the single exception of Guzrát, were again lost. The principal causes of the disturbances here alluded to, were, the heavy taxes, the issue of copper money as the representative of silver, and the enrolment of the enormous armies which the emperor's schemes of conquest rendered necessary. The year 738 witnessed the first preparatory expedition towards the visionary project of his conquest of China: in the history of the same year is to be recorded the fact, that of the 100,000 men despatched upon this insensate attempt, scarcely a man returned to Delhí. Shortly after this, his still more infatuated design of removing the capital and its denizens from Delhí to Deogir, took possession of the sultan's mind: men, women and children, with all belonging to them, were to be transported to the new metropolis; trees, even, were to be made subject to the will of the despot, and, torn up by their roots and replanted on the road to the new capital, they were to furnish shade to the wayfarers who were destined to compose the population of the king-created city. Absolute force seems to have prevailed: its effects, however, were but transitory; for, at the end of two years,



it was found necessary to renew this strange transportation; and Delhí, the much-loved home of many, was once again left desolate.<sup>14</sup> In fit keeping with these mad acts, was the absolute hunting of human beings, recorded against this monarch.

With the exception of the erection of an independent Mohammedan state in the Dukhun under Hussun Gungó (the foundation of the subsequently powerful dynasty of the Bahmaní kings of Kalbarga), the still varied tenor of the remaining eleven years of Mohammed Tuglak's domination does not offer any points of sufficient prominence to claim record in these brief notes.

82.—Gold. 200 grs. R.

*Obv.*—أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله و أشهد أن محمداً عبده ورسوله  
I bear witness that there is no god but God, and I testify that Mohammed is his servant and apostle.

*R.*—Area الوثائق بتأييد الرحمن محمد شاه السلطان  
The confiding in the benignity of the Merciful, Mohammed Shah, the sultan.

*Marg.*—ضرب هذا الدينار محضرة دهلي سنة ست و عشرين  
و سبعمائة This dínár was struck at the capital, Delhí, (in the) year 726.

<sup>14</sup> The following account of Ibn Batuta, who was in part an eye-witness of the transactions referred to, will give some idea of the horrors perpetrated in carrying out this edict:—

“Upon this they all went out; but his servants finding a blind man in one of the houses, and a bed-ridden one in another, the emperor commanded the bed-ridden man to be projected from a balista (في المنجنيق), and the blind one to be dragged by his feet to Dawlatabad, which is at the distance of ten days, and he was so dragged; but his limbs dropping off by the way, only one of his legs was brought to the place intended, and was then thrown into it: for the order had been that they should go to this place. When I entered Delhí it was almost a desert.”

83.—Gold. 137 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—ضرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن تغلق  
Struck in the time of the servant, trusting in the mercy  
of God, Mohammed son of Tughlak.

*R.*—Centre لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله There is no god  
but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God.

*Marg.*—هذا الدينار بحضرة دهلي في سنة سبع وعشرين و  
This dínár, at the capital, Delhí, in the year 727.

84.—Gold. 171 grs. R.

*Obv.*—والله الغني وانتم الفقرا God is the rich, and ye (are)  
the poor.

*R.*—Centre في عهد محمد بن تغلق In the reign of Mo-  
hammed, son of Tughlak.

*Marg.*—بحضرة دهلي سنة ست وثلثين وسبعماية At the  
capital, Delhí, year 736

85.—Gold. 167 grs. R.

*Obv.*—ضرب هذا الدينار الخليفة الدهلي في شهور سنة اثني  
This dínár of the Delhí kha-  
lifat was struck in the months of the year 742.

*R.*—في زمان الامام المستكفي بالله امير المؤمنين ابو  
In the time of the  
Imám, Al Mostakfi Billah, commander of the faithful,  
Abúl Rubí Sulímán, may God perpetuate his khalifat.

86.—Gold. 171 grs. R.

*Obv.*—في زمان الامام امير المؤمنين الحاكم بامر  
In the  
time of the Imám, commander of the faithful, Al Hakim  
Beamur.

*R.*—الله ابو العباس احمد خلد ملكه Illahí Abúl Abbás  
Ahmud, may his reign endure.



The subjoined extract, giving the details of Mohammed Tuglak's doubts and difficulties, arising out of the want of due sacerdotal confirmation of the title by which he held his throne, is taken from Briggs' Translation of Ferishtah. It is here adopted in preference to the version given by Marsden, which is undoubtedly more satisfactory, as it appears in its English form, in respect to its explanations of the geographical part of the subject to which it refers, than either the rejected interpretation of Dow or the more trustworthy version of Briggs; but as the object, in these cases, is to reproduce accurately the literal expressions of any author quoted, and not in any way to accept an *amended MS.*, or to bend the original text to suit present knowledge, the appended passage is quoted as offering the most exact counterpart of the Persian original now available; the simple point at issue being to select the translator to whose MS. text the greatest confidence is due.

A.H. 743. "The king, at this time, took it into his head, that all the calamities of his reign proceeded from his not having been confirmed on his throne by the Abassy Caliph. He, therefore, despatched presents and ambassadors to Arabia [Egypt, *Marsden*], and caused the caliph's name, in place of his own, to be struck on all the current coin, and prohibited his own name from being included at public worship in the mosques till the caliph's confirmation arrived. In the year 744, a holy person, of the race of the prophet, named Hajy Sayeed Hoormozy [Sirsirri, *Dow* and *Marsden*], returned with the ambassador, and brought a letter from the caliph and a royal dress. The caliph's envoy was met twelve miles outside the city by the king in person, who advanced to receive him on foot, put the letter of the caliph upon his head, and opened it with great solemnity and respect. When he returned into the city, he ordered a grand festival to be made, and caused the public prayers to be said in all the mosques, striking out every king's name from the Khootba who had not been confirmed. Among the number of those degraded monarchs was the king's own

father. He even carried his fancy so far as to cause the caliph's name to appear on all his robes and furniture."—*Briggs*, i. 426.

The accuracy of the general tenor of this episode in the annals of the reign of Mohammed Tuglak, is sufficiently attested by coins Nos. 85, 95, 109, and Nos. 86, 110, 111: the former of which bear the simple record of the name of the supposed Egyptian khalif, Al Mostakfi Billah, and the dates, 742, 743, accompanied, in one instance, by a notification of issue from the Delhí mint. The remaining three coins are in like manner superscribed by the sole denomination of Al Abbás Ahmed, the actual recognised khalif of Egypt, and (in two out of the three specimens) are dated 724.

The profound ignorance of the events which from time to time took place, even in the circle of their own Mohammedan world, evinced by the Patán sultans of Delhí, has seldom been more prominently displayed than in the present instance. It would seem, from the expressions of Ferishtah, as rendered from Marsden's Persian MS., that information of the revival of the nominal Abbassite khalifat in Egypt in 659, had, in 743, only recently reached Hindústán. It is manifest, from the money now described, that the emperor himself was at this very time totally unaware of the deposition and banishment of Mostakfi, which took place in 702; indeed, it could only have been on the return of his own ambassador that he became satisfactorily assured of the renewal of the Mamelúk pageant head of Islam, and discovered even the bare name of the individual who then enjoyed these pontifical honors, viz. Al Abbás Ahmed, who succeeded Al Wathak Billah in 742.

The date on coin No. 85, viz. 742, together with that of 741, discovered on a similar coin by Professor Fraehn, indicate that the period fixed by Ferishtah for the de-



velopment of Mohammed Tuglak's religious doubts should be antedated by two years.

87.—Silver. 141 grs. V.R. Obverse and reverse areas bear the same legends as the gold coin No. 82.

R.—*Marg.* ضرب هذا العدلي بحضرة دهلي سنة خمس و  
 This *Udli* (was) struck at the capital,  
 Delhi, in the year 725.

88.—Silver (much alloyed). 140 grs. C.

*Obv.*—ضرب في زمن العبد الراجي رحمة الله محمد بن  
 Struck in the time of the servant, trusting in the mercy of  
 God, Mohammed, son of—

R.—السلطان السعيد الشهيد تغلق شاه سنة ثمان وعشرين و  
 The sultan, the fortunate, the testifier, Tughlak  
 Sháh. Year 728.

89.—A somewhat similar coin. 136 grs. Dated 730. V.R. The workmanship, however, is much inferior to that of No. 88.

In referring to the early profusion of Mohammed Tuglak, and the enormous sums he is reported to have squandered in gifts and pensions, Ferishtah incidentally alludes to the intrinsic value of the money of this monarch, affirming that —“Nizam ud din Ahmed Bukshy, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians to have been lavished by this prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these tunkas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each tunka only exchanged for sixteen copper pice” (making a tunka worth only about 4*d.* instead of 2*s.*).—*Briggs.*

The main facts of this statement are readily seen to be correct, in the very composition of sundry specimens of the money of Mohammed Tuglak (see coins 88, 89). Though

Ferishtah has been unfortunate in accusing this sultan of making use of debased coin in almost the first transaction of his reign, for even supposing the subsequently adopted system of adulteration to have commenced thus early (which there are stringent reasons for doubting), it could have supplied but a small quota of the enormous amount reported to have been bestowed on this occasion, viz. £2,133,324. Mohammed Tuglak's predecessors too, judging from the invariably pure specimens of their mintages which have survived to contribute their testimony to the point, must be fully exonerated from any charge of debasing the coinage; so that, although Mohammed Tuglak is accused, and justly so, of various frauds upon the circulating medium of his dominions, the reduction of the value of his early largesses by one-fourth is not authorised by the medallie evidence now cited.

90.—Silver. 169 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—*Sides* ابوبكر عمر عثمان علي Abubekr Umur, Usmán, Ulí.

*Area*—المجاهد في سبيل الله محمد بن تغلق شاه The labourer in the road of God, Mohammed bin Tughlak Sháh.

*R.*—*Area* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*Marg.*—ضرب هذه السكه - - في سنة - عشرين و سبعمائة

91.—Silver, small coin. 56 grs. C.

*Obv.*—السلطان العادل

*R.*—محمد بن تغلق شاه

92.—Silver, small coin. 52 grs.

*Obv.*—المجاهد في سبيل الله

*R.*—محمد بن تغلق شاه



93.—Silver, small coin. 55 grs. C.

*Obv.*—الملك والعظمة لله Dominion and greatness are of God.

*R.*—٧٣٢ عبد الراجي محمد تغلق (The) servant, the trusting, Mohammed Tughlak. 732.

94.—Silver, small coin. C. 733.

*Obv.*—الراجي رحمة الله

*R.*—محمد بن تغلق سنة ثلث وثلثين وسبعماية

95.—Silver. 55 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*— - - خليفه الله في Vicegerent of God in . . .

*R.*—٧٤٣ المستكفي بالله Al Mustakfi Billah, 743.

96.—Brass. 136 grs. R. Doulutábad. 730 A.H.

*Obv.*—مهر شد سكه رائج در روزگار بنده اميدوار محمد تغلق  
(This piece) was struck (as) a current coin, in the time of the servant, hopeful (of divine mercy), Mohammed Tuglak.

*R.*—من اطاع السلطان فقد اطاع الرحمن

He who obeys the king, truly he obeys the Merciful (God).

*Marg.*—در تخت گاه دولت اباد سال - ? - هفتصد سي  
At the royal residence (capital), Doulutábád, year . . .  
Seven hundred (and) thirty.

Had Mohammed Tuglak been at all conversant with the modern history of his day, he would probably have hesitated in attempting so radical a change as the introduction of a representative currency, when a similar experiment had but a short time previously (693, H.) been the subject of signal failure in a kingdom not far removed from his own boundaries. Kai Khátou Khan, the Moghul emperor of Persia, had in like manner adopted ideas on the subject from the Chinese, and endeavoured, by the aid of a carefully organised system, and a simultaneous issue of the

new notes in the various provinces of his dominions, to enforce the circulation of paper money. The dissatisfaction arising from the measure soon became general, and the inhabitants of the capital (Tabriz) rising as one man, somewhat summarily secured the abrogation of the "Tchao" edict : moreover, the ill-feeling engendered by its temporary experience went far towards the subsequent overthrow of the monarch himself. The following translation of the account of the transaction, which forms the immediate subject of reference, given from the *Tubkât Akhberî*, is adopted as entering into a more comprehensive detail of the circumstances attendant on this singular episode in the history of Indian finance, than the relation to be found in *Ferishtah*, which is somewhat unconnected in itself, and appears to confound into one act the separate features of debasing the coinage on the one hand, and the issue of an avowed copper representative of the more precious metals on the other. *Ferishtah's* narration may be consulted in the translations of Dow and Briggs, vol. i., pp. 282 and 414 respectively.

"The sultan's means did not suffice to satisfy his desires : to gain his ends, therefore, he created a copper currency, ordering coins of that metal to be struck in his mint, after the manner of gold and silver ; he then ordained that this copper money should pass current *as* gold and silver, and so should be used in all commercial transactions. The Hindús brought large quantities of copper to the mint and had it coined, and so made for themselves enormous profits ; and purchasing goods, and exporting them to other countries, received in exchange gold and silver money. Goldsmiths also manufactured coins in their own houses, and passed them in the bazaars. After some time, things came to such a pass, that, at distant places, the sultan's edict was not observed, and the people took the king's coins only at their intrinsic value in copper, and speculators brought them thence to those



parts of the country where the order remained in force, and there exchanged them for gold and silver. In this way the copper currency became by degrees so redundant, that, all at once, it utterly lost credit and was regarded as mere rubbish, while gold and silver became even more precious than before, and commerce was entirely deranged. When the sultan saw that his measure had failed, and that he could not, even by punishment, bring the whole population to obedience, he issued a decree, ordaining that every one who had a royal coin might bring it to the treasury and receive in exchange a gold or silver coin of the old stamp.<sup>15</sup> He thought by this means to restore his copper currency to credit, so that it might be again accepted in exchanges; but the copper money which had been accumulated in people's houses and thrown on one side as worthless, was immediately collected and brought to the treasury to be exchanged for gold and silver coin; and the copper tokens still remained as little current as before, while all the royal treasuries were emptied, and general financial ruin fell upon the whole kingdom."—*Vide Persian MS., Tubkát Akhberi, East India House.*

Many circumstances concur, in demonstrating that the class of coins of which Nos. 96, 97, 98 and 99, are specimens, formed part of the money issued on this peculiar occasion. The causes which lead to this conclusion may be briefly enumerated as follows:—1st. The similarity in weight observable between these coins and the impure silver pieces (Nos. 88, 89) whose place they were seemingly intended to supply: an approximation, it is to be remarked, which does not occur in the previous examples of the silver and copper coinage of this series. 2nd. The shape, which is in a degree assimilated to the assumed prototype; and—3rd. The intrinsic novelty, likewise now for the first time noticeable in the use of brass as a material for coinage. But beyond these minor reasons, there remains the conclusive one of the internal evidence borne by the legends

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<sup>15</sup> Mirát al Alem has نكه زر

on the coins themselves, as seen in the use, in the one case, of the term, "struck as current money," and, in the other, of an inscription fixing the relative value of the piece impressed: intimations unsanctioned by custom, and, which it is needless to say, a full intrinsic metallic value would have rendered superfluous.

It is probable that many other coins, composed of a similar admixture of metals, and bearing legends in a measure appropriate to the occasion, constituted a portion of the forced currency of Mohammed Tuglak; it may be advisable to advert concisely to each in detail. As regards No. 100, the identity of date and metal, accompanied by the retention of a portion of the same legend as No. 96, sufficiently indicates that a similar object attended the mintage of both. In the case of No. 101, the two first of these points of similarity equally exist, and the inscriptions in themselves counsel due obedience to the sovereign, who, in the issue of the money, thus heavily tried the subservience of his subjects. The signs of agreement with the adopted sample of this representative coinage, to be detected in Nos. 102 and 103 are less prominent, and are confined to a coincidence in date and metal: however, on the supposition that in a comprehensive scheme, such as the present is shown to have been, it would have been necessary to provide proportionate substitutes for the smaller silver pieces; the specimens now cited may fairly claim admittance into the series under review. Nos. 104 and 105, under different forms of inscription to those employed on other coins of the class, bear full signs of their definite purpose, and in their respective record of جائز "current," "lawful," and شرعي "legal," amply manifest the design with which they were produced.

The dates on these coins are sufficiently in unison with



the information to be gathered from *written* history, not to militate in any way against the validity of the opinion now advanced, as to the occasion to which the money in question owes its origin. The evidence of Indian authors, however, as to the exact time at which the first issue of brass tokens took place, or as to the period during which this Substitute system remained in force, is greatly deficient; and the several narratives of the Tubkát Akhberí, the Mirát al Alem, and the chronicles of Ferishtah, all fail in this respect: from the coins themselves, therefore, must be sought an elucidation of these doubtful points.

It will be seen that the brass coins already classed under the head of Mohammed Tuglak's forced currency, uniformly bear one of three dates, either 730, 731, or 732: the first of these is to be found on full six-tenths of the whole of the very numerous specimens available for reference; next in order of abundance is to be seen the annual date of 731; and, lastly, the number 732 is but rarely met with: implying, if such testimony is trustworthy, a very extensive fabrication during the first, and, apparently commencing year, sufficiently supported during the second, and followed by a remarkable diminution in the issue of the third year. It may be assumed, therefore, that 730 A.H., witnessed the first vigorous effort at the introduction of the new currency, well sustained during 731, and failing entirely in 732. The limitation here assigned to the survival of this Indian adaptation of the Chinese Tchao system, is curiously supported both in the negative as well as direct evidence, deducible from the *real* money of Mohammed Tuglak. The ample materials at command, admit of the abundant and unbroken numismatic illustration of each of the first thirteen years of the reign of this prince, of the *dated* coins thus capable of being cited, scarcely a solitary instance of either

*gold or silver* money occurs bearing the dates 730 or 731.<sup>16</sup> It has been already shown that the brass money was manufactured *only* during 730, 731, and part of 732; and, to complete the chain and fill up the years both initiative and conclusive of this financial change, the silver coins, Nos. 89 and 93, may be quoted as bearing respectively the annual dates of 730 and 732. Hence, as far as may be judged from present proofs, it would appear that, during the continuance of the decree giving effect to the forced currency, but few, if any, gold or silver coins were fabricated at either the Delhí or Doulatábád mints; and that as its introduction had been attended by a discontinuance of the use of precious metals, so the withdrawal of the ordinance is simultaneously marked, by a reappearance of a due proportionate amount the usual circulating medium.

97.—Brass. 139 grs. V.C. Delhí, 731 A.H.

*Obv.*—Similar legend to No. 96.

*R.*—*Area*, legend as above, No. 96.

*Marg.*—در تخت گاه دهلي سال - - هفتصد سي يك

98.—Brass. R. Delhí, 732 A.H.<sup>17</sup>

Similar to No. 97, with هفتصد سي دو

<sup>16</sup> There is one silver coin, and one only, in the present collection, similar in type to No. 94, but of very debased metal; the date on which may possibly be read 731. The inscription is imperfectly executed, and the word احد if such it be, is so peculiarly formed that it can scarcely be relied on as representing that number.

<sup>17</sup> Many specimens of the coins described under Nos. 96, 97, 98, bear very distinct signs of being the production of dies other than those in use at the royal mints, and are probably some of the forgeries alluded to in the extract from the *Tubkát Akhberí*.



99.—Brass. 138 grs. V.R. Doulutábád, 732 A.H. B.M.<sup>18</sup>

*Obv.*—مهر شد سکه پنجاه کانی در روزگار بنده امیدوار محمد  
 Struck as a piece of fifty kánís,<sup>19</sup> in the time of the  
 servant, hopeful (of divine mercy), Mohammed Tughlak.

R.—*Area*, as No. 96.

*Marg.*—در تخت گاه دولت اباد سال - - و

100.—Brass. 112 grs. V.C.

*Obv.*—من اطاع السلطان محمد

He who obeys the king, Mohammed, 730—

R.—فقد اطاع الرحمن تغلق

Truly he obeys the Merciful, Tughlak.

101.—Brass. 112 grs. C. Date 730.

*Obv.*—أَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُوا الرَّسُولَ وَأُولِي الْأَمْرِ مِنْكُمْ مُحَمَّد

Obey God, and obey the Prophet, and those (who are) in  
 authority among you (4th chap. Korán), Mohammed, 730.

R.—لَا يُولَا السُّلْطَانُ كُلَّ النَّاسِ بَعْضُهُمْ بَعْضًا تَغْلُقْ

Sovereignty is not conferred upon every man, (but) some  
 (are placed over) others, Tughlak.

102.—Brass. 66 grs. C.

*Obv.*—محمد بن تغلق

R.—ضرب الربيعي

103.—Brass. 55 grs. C.

*Obv.*—عبد محمد بن تغلق

R.—حسبي ربي

<sup>18</sup> The value of the pretended exactitude of Ferishtah's dates is somewhat shaken by the coins Nos. 96 and 99. The former of which proves most obviously that Deogír had become the *royal city of Doulutábád* in the year 730, whereas Ferishtah expressly assigns this intitulation to the year 739. See Briggs and Dow, A.H. 739.

<sup>19</sup> Kání, probably the "jetul" of Ferishtah, see ante, page 175.

104.—Brass. 74 grs. U.

*Obv.*—سکه زر جائز در عهد (بندہ امیدوار؟) <sup>20</sup>

*R.*—Centre محمد تغلق

*Marg.*—श्री: मोहमद <sup>21</sup>

105.—Brass. 84 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—ضرب الدرهم الشرعي في زمن العبد محمد بن تغلق <sup>22</sup>

Struck (as) a legal dirhem, in the time of the servant Mohammed bin Tughlak.

*R.*—بدارالاسلام في سنة ثلثين و سبعمائة

At the seat of Islāmism, in the year 730.

106.—Brass. 82 grs. R.

*Obv.* as No. 106.

*R.*—بحضرة دهلي في سنة ثلثين و سبعمائة. At the capital, Delhi, in the year 730.

107.—Copper. 53 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—الملک و العزة لله Dominion and glory are of God.

*R.*—Centre محمد تغلق

*Marg.*—732 سال - - هفتصد سي دو.

<sup>20</sup> The second letter of زر has been restored. The word زر assuming it to be such, seems to have been used in this instance in its generic sense of money, rather than in its distinguishing meaning of gold: the brass representatives of the gold dinārs have yet to be brought to light.

<sup>21</sup> The o in *Mohamad* is expressed in what is now known as the *Bengali* form of that vowel.

<sup>22</sup> The ش الشرعي is assumed from other and clearer specimens of the coin than that which appears in the plate, which has been selected for the engraver, from its affording a more general outline of the whole legend than other pieces of the same class.



108.—Copper. 68 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان ظل الله The sultan, shadow of God.

*R.*—محمد بن تغلقشاه Mohammed bin Tuglak Sháh.

109.—Silver and copper mixed. 132 grs. U.

*Obv.*—الامام الاعظم خليفه الله

*R.*—Centre المستكفي بالله امير المؤمنين

*Marg.* illegible.

110.—Copper. 128 grs. R. 748 A.H.

*Obv.*—الحاكم بامر الله سنة ٧٤٨

*R.*—ابو العباس احمد

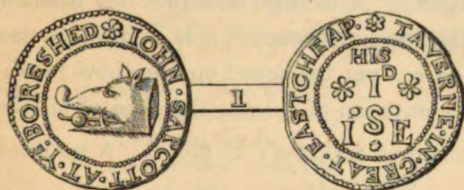
111.—Brass. 55 grs. V.R.

Legend and date similar to No. 109.

V.

EXAMPLES OF LONDON COFFEE-HOUSE, TAVERN,  
AND TRADESMEN'S TOKENS.

SECOND SERIES.



1. *Obv.*—JOHN SANCOTT AT Y<sup>E</sup> BORES HED. A boar's head dressed with a lemon in its mouth.

R.—TAVERNE IN GREAT EASTCHEAP. In the centre, HIS  
I. E. S. (*Mr. Huxtable*).

THE benevolent reader was perchance well nigh wearied of our first series of notes on Tradesmen's and Tavern Tokens, when we haply brought him on those of "the Mermaid," and "the Bore's Hed," and left him in a pleasant reverie of the palmy days of Great Eastcheap; not of the days described by rhyming Lydgate, when "the cookes cried hot ribbes of beefe rosted, pies well baked, and other victuals," to the clattering of pewter pots, and the sounds of "harpe, pipe and sawtrie, yea by cocke, nay by cocke, for greater oaths were spared,"—but of later times, when the mad prince broke fat Sir John's head "for likening his father to a singing man of Windsor," and picked his pocket while "fast asleep behind the arras, and snorting



like a horse." And lo, here is another, and a far finer token of that renowned above all taverns ancient or modern,<sup>1</sup> but issued by a different landlord,<sup>2</sup> for John Sappcott is the name of mine host of the *penny* token.<sup>3</sup> That of the smaller denomination bears a boar's head, with a true heraldic grin; but this displays the same object under a more inviting aspect, appealing irresistibly "aux gourmands."<sup>4</sup>

We believe a city antiquary has for some years past been engaged in collecting materials for a history of the "Bore's Hed in Eastcheape." If, in the course of his researches, he has not happened on the above token, we offer him a representation of it in furtherance of his object.

1. *Obv.*—ROBERT HAYES AT Y<sup>e</sup> COFFE. A turbaned bust, full faced.

R.—HOVSE IN PANIER ALLEY. In the field HIS HALFPENY in three lines across the field.

2. *Obv.*—ROBERT HAYES AT Y<sup>e</sup> COFFE HOVS. A turbaned head as on the preceding.

R.—*In Barbican, formerly in Pannyer Ally*, in four lines across the field.

<sup>1</sup> For the drawing of this, and the tokens in the accompanying plates, we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. B. Nightingale, who has also favoured us with several illustrative notes of the localities in which the different pieces circulated.

<sup>2</sup> The initials on the farthing token are, I. I. B.

<sup>3</sup> These tokens of a larger denomination appear to have been of a later issue than those representing the farthing and halfpenny. They are generally without date, and their appearance must have called imperatively for the reformation of the coinage, and the suppression of such a spurious currency. Had this not taken place, the curious would doubtless have in their cabinets examples of *silver* coins, struck by London Tradesmen.

<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that the Boar's head was originally a cook's shop, in the days of Lydgate, and one of those in which "hot ribbes of beef roasted, and pies well baked," were dispensed with other creature comforts.

As these notes may fall into the hands of those who know but little of London topography, it may be as well to mention that Pannier Alley, originally so called from a shop at the corner bearing the sign of a pannier, is a narrow court, running from the extreme east end of Newgate-street, into Paternoster-row, just opposite Saint Martin's le Grand. Should the curious reader ever visit the locality, and the day happen to be fine, he may, in the penumbra of this court, espy a small sculptured stone in the wall beneath the baker's shop window, on which is the figure of a naked boy, seated on a roll of tobacco, and the inscription :

WHEN Y<sup>V</sup> HAVE SOUGH<sup>T</sup>  
THE CITY ROVND  
YET STILL THS IS  
THE HIGHS<sup>T</sup> GROVND  
AVGVST THE 27  
1688.

Robert Hayes appears to have made his tokens serve the purpose of an advertisement, giving notice of his removal to Barbican, where he sometimes perhaps refreshed the Finsbury archer or the train band captains after a field day. His second coinage is a great improvement upon his first, being of neater and more careful execution.

3. *Obv.*—NICHOLAS ROYS AT Y<sup>E</sup> BLACK. A Dog.

R.—DOGG NEARE NEWGATE. In the field, HIS HALFPENY  
TOKEN.

In Philip Henslow's diary, recently published by the Shakspeare Society, there are notices of "payments on account," to Day, Smith and Hathaway, for a play called "The Black Dog of Newgate," which they either wrote or were to have written. In Hibbert's catalogue of rare books sold in 1829 is "A Discovery of a London Monster, called the Black Dog of Newgate. Printed by G. Eld, for Rob.



Wilson, 1612." The author is supposed to have been Luke Hutton.<sup>5</sup> The tavern called "the Black Dog" was much frequented by literary men; and in the work in question, are stanzas entitled "Certaine Fearful Visions appearing to the Author of this Booke," which are supposed to have been written here.

4. *Obv.*—AT Y<sup>re</sup> COFFE HOVSE AGAINST. In the centre, HENRY MVSCVT, and a hand holding a cup of coffee.

R.—BROOK HOVSE IN HOLBORN. HIS HALFPENNY. H.E.M. in seven lines across the field.

(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

Brook House was once the residence of the earls of Warwick, and stood on the site of the present Brook-street, near Furnival's Inn; so that Muscut's coffee-house must have been on the opposite side of Holborn, near the gateway of Staples Inn. The fanciful and somewhat inconvenient shape of his token, was adopted by others at this period, probably to attract notice.

5. *Obv.*—ANTHONY POOLE, IRONMONGR (*sic*). A horse's head coupéd, and bridled.

R.—IN FOSTER LANE, 1688. In the centre, HIS HALFE PENY, in three lines across the field.

Was this the original shop in Foster-lane, now known as "Knight's," where the chemist and the geologist repair for *matériel* in their respective sciences? Foster-lane once flanked the great sanctuary of St. Martin, but nearly one half of it has been destroyed to make room for the New Post Office.

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<sup>5</sup> The book is of extreme rarity, and at the sale in question brought 5*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

6. *Obv.*—CHARLES KIFTELL. A hand issuing from the clouds, pouring from a coffee-pot into a cup.

*R.*—AT THE COFFEE HOVSE. In the field, IN CHEAPSIDE, 1669. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

Another example of the tokens issued by Coffee House Keepers, and bearing a later date.

7. *Obv.*—FRANCIS HARRIS BAKER. In the field, a sheaf of corn.

*R.*—AT PYE CORNER, HIS  $\frac{1}{2}$  PENY. In the field, two flowers, the stalk joined in a true-lover's knot, between the letters, F. M. H.

The great fire of London began at the house of a baker, named Farriner, in "Pudding Lane," and ended at "Pye Corner," whence the Puritans of the day attributed that great calamity to "the detestable sin of gluttony," an absurdity recorded on the bloated figure of a boy against the wall of a house at the entrance of Smithfield.

Pye Corner seems to have received its designation from the trade which thrived in that neighbourhood. Robin Conscience in his ballad, finding that his name offended the traders in various parts of London, came hither.

"Thus chid of them, my way I took  
Unto Pye Corner, where a cook  
Glanced at me as the devil would look  
O'er Lincoln."

By which we are led to suspect, that the cook either dispensed short weight, or viands of apocryphal character.

8. *Obv.*—AT THE ROSE TAVERN. In the centre, a full-blown rose.

*R.*—IN COVEN GARDEN. In the centre, the letters, W.M.L. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The Rose Tavern stood in Brydges-street, Covent  
VOL. X. L



Garden, adjoining the theatre. It was the resort of the wits and literati of Charles the Second's time, and is frequently referred to in the writings of the period. It was sometimes called "Long's," being kept by a person of that name. This is partly confirmed by the initial L on the token and indeed by the next specimen.

9. *Obv.*—MARY LONG IN RVSELL. A full-blown rose on the stalk.

R.—STREET COVENT GARDEN. In the field HER HALFE PENNY. M.L. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This token gives us the name of the person who issued it, who, probably, from the cognisance being the same, was a member of the family of, if not the proprietor of the Rose Tavern: or it might be his widow, unequal as a "lone woman" to the duties of hostess of a bustling house of resort: or, peradventure, mine host was found after his death to be insolvent, and the goodwill of the tavern was put up to auction. But we undertook to describe, and not to conjecture.

10. *Obv.*—THE EXCHANGE TAVERN. A view of the interior of the quadrangle of the Royal Exchange.

R.—IN THE POVLTREY, 1668. In the field, HIS HALF PENY. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This token was struck two years after the great fire, which destroyed the original building called the Royal Exchange. The view on the reverse of this example is of the new structure, which was destroyed in 1838.

11. *Obv.*—ED. OLDHAM AT Y<sup>E</sup> HERCVLES. A crowned male figure standing erect, and grasping a pillar with each hand.

R.—PILLERS IN FLEET STREET. In the field, HIS HALFE PENNY, E. P. O.

In our former paper, we described a token issued by a tradesman in Hercules Pillars Alley.<sup>6</sup> From this example, it would seem that this locality, like other places in London, took its name from the tavern. The mode of representing the pillars of Hercules is somewhat novel; and but for the inscription, we should have supposed the figure to represent Sampson clutching the pillars of the temple of Dagon.

12. *Obv.*—AT Y<sup>E</sup> MITER TAVERN. A mitre.

R.—IN WESTMINSTER, 57. In the field, R. I. P.

This well-known tavern stood in Union-street, Westminster, and was removed in the year 1807, when the improvements were made in that neighbourhood.

13. *Obv.*—John Eldridge at Billingsgate. In four lines across the field.

R.—HIS HALF PENY. A rampant lion, and a still (*octagonal*).

14. *Obv.*—A PENNY. A tilt-boat, with rowers, passengers, and a steersman.

R.—JOHN MICHELL LIVING AT LITTLE SOMERS KEY NEAR BILLINGSGATE. In seven lines across the field (*octagonal*). (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

Little Somers Quay was removed when the present Custom House in Thames-street was built. The boat represented on this token was doubtless one of those which in those days plied between London and Gravesend—a voyage sometimes of three or four days in adverse weather! There is a tract of this period professing to give an account of a "Tongue Combat in the Tilt-boat from Gravesend," etc., between two individuals of opposite politics.

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<sup>6</sup> Num. Chron., Vol. IX., p. 57, Plate 3, No. 25.



15. *Obv.*—RICHARD BLAKE TAPSTER. Full-faced bust, probably intended for that of James the First.

R.—IN SOUTHWARK 1669. In the field HIS HALF PENY,  
and R.F.B.

Who Richard Blake was, history says not. Southwark, as one of the principal entrances to the city of London, abounded in taverns and alehouses. The latter, about this period, had a very bad reputation, if we may credit Robin Conscience.

“Then I, being sore athirst, did go  
Into an alehouse in the row,  
Meaning a penny to bestow  
On strong beer;”

Robin asks for a quart, but the hostess is indignant, and after abusing him, says :—

“Instead of a quart pot of pewter,  
I fill small jugs, and need no tutor ;  
I quart’ridge give to the geometer  
Most duly ;

And he will see, and yet be blind ;  
A knave made much of will be kind,  
If you be one, Sir, tell your mind  
Most truly.”

Robin spurns this overture, goes on his way, and finds knavery in the ascendant everywhere.

16. *Obv.*—WILLIAM PAGET, AT THE. A mitre.

R.—MITRE IN FLEET STREET. In the field, W. E. P.  
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The Mitre still flourishes in Mitre-court, Fleet-street, nearly “over against” Fetter-lane, and like most houses in the vicinity of the inns of court, can boast of good fare. It was once the resort of men known to literature and science ; amongst others, of Johnson and his follower and admirer, Boswell. In that amusing volume, “The

Gold-headed Cane," by the late Dr. Macmichael, the following passage occurs: Dr. Radcliff, *loquitur* :—

"I never recollect to have spent a more delightful evening, than that at the Mitre Tavern, in Fleet-street, "where my good friend Billy Nutly, who was indeed the "better half of me, had been prevailed upon to accept of a "small temporary assistance, and joined our party, the "Earl of Denbigh, Lords Colepeper and Stowel, and "Mr. Blackmore."

17. *Obv.*—WITHIN BISHOP GATE. The crowned bust of Charles the First to the left.

R.—THE KINGS HED TAVERN. In the field, G.M.W.

The politics of mine host of the "Kings Hed," are pretty manifest from the device and style of this token, the bust of which is copied from some of the very neat small silver coins executed by Briot.

18. THE FRIEN PAN, IN BEL. A frying-pan.

R.—YARD, BY POWLS WHARF. In the field, D. I. T.

We are unable to tell the reader any thing of the "frien pan," or even to give the name of the worthy who traded beneath it. He was probably a dealer in ironmongery.

19. *Obv.*—APOTHECARY. In the field, CAM. in monogram.

R.—SNOW HILL. The figure of a cock standing on a spire.

The cock is here chosen as the device of an apothecary, the bird being sacred to Æsculapius.

20. *Obv.*—IOHN CLAY, WOODMONGER. A horse and cart.

R.—IN WHITE FRYARS, 1667. In the centre, HIS HALF PENNY. (*Mr. Huxtable.*)



When this token circulated in White Friars, it had a reputation which Shadwell has preserved in his "Squire of Alsatia," and Scott in one of his most interesting fictions.

21. *Obv.*—SIMON BOND, AT THE. In the centre, GREEN HOVSE.

R.—IN LITL MOOR FELDS. In the centre, S.A.B. 1666.  
(*Mr. Huxtable.*)

22. *Obv.*—RICHARD RICH IN LITEL. A bird perched on the top of a sheaf of corn.

R.—DRVRY LANE CHANGER. In the centre, OF FARTHINGS.  
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The issuer of this token styles himself a "changer of farthings," obviously the exchange of tokens of this description for authorised currency, charging no doubt a brokerage or commission on the transaction. The profits of such a business, must, however, have been very small, and was perhaps joined to some trade. By the device of our *κολλυβιστης* — the wheatsheaf and bird,—he appears to have been either a baker or a cornchandler.

23. *Obv.*—IAMES GRIGNELL IN. A horse shoe.

R.—THE PARK SOVTHWARK. In the field, HIS HALFPENY.  
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The locality mentioned on this token, formed part of the domain of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, the favourite of Henry the Eighth. His mansion stood nearly opposite the spot where the present St. George's Church stands, and was surrounded by a small park and ornamental gardens. After the death of the duke, the property reverted to the king, who established a mint there. The neighbourhood is still known as "the Mint," and has enjoyed for a long time a very equivocal reputation. In the days of our

grandfathers, it was the lurking-place of all the idle and profligate on the Surrey side of the Thames, and in the present day has not quite lost its character. The neighbouring thoroughfares known as Suffolk-street, Park-street, etc., preserve the memory of the duke's mansion.

24. *Obv.*—THO. WHITE AT Y<sup>E</sup> BLACKMORES. Bust of a negro to the right; across the field, HIS OB.

R.—HEAD IN WEST SMITHFIELD. In the field, T. E. W.  
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This token is remarkable and peculiar, from the circumstance of the owner designating it his *obolus*. We cannot say how far the devices and inscriptions of these tokens were directed by the actual issuers, and have therefore no means of ascertaining if this less vulgar designation was the adoption of the master of the Blackamore's Head, or of the engraver of the die.

25. *Obv.*—JOHN THOMLINSON AT THE. An archer fitting an arrow to his bow; a small figure behind holding an arrow.

R.—IN CHISWELL STREET, 1667. In the centre, HIS HALFE PENNY, and I. S. T. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

It is easy to perceive what is intended by the representation on the obverse of this token. Though "Little John," we are told, stood upwards of six good English feet without his shoes, he is here depicted to suit the popular humour—a dwarf in size compared with his friend and leader, the bold outlaw. The proximity of Chiswell-street to Finsbury fields, may have led to the adoption of the sign, which was doubtless at a time when archery was considered an elegant as well as indispensable accomplishment of an English gentleman. It is far from obsolete now, as several



low public houses and beer-shops in the vicinity of London testify. One of them exhibits Robin Hood and his companion dressed in the most approved style of "Ashley's," and underneath the group is the following irresistible invitation to slake your thirst.

" Ye archers bold and yeomen good,  
Stop and drink with Robin Hood :  
If Robin Hood is not at home,  
Stop and drink with Little John."

Our London readers could doubtless supply the variorum copies of this elegant distich, which, as this is an age for "Family Shaksperes," modernised Chaucers, and new versions of "Robin Hood's Garland," we recommend to the notice of the next editor of the ballads in praise of the Sherwood Freebooter.

26. *Obv.*—JAMES FARR, 1666. A rainbow.

R.—IN FLEET STREET. In the centre, HIS HALF PENY.  
(*Mr. Price*).

It is well known that James Farr kept the Rainbow in Fleet-street, at the time of the great fire, the very year of which is marked on this token ; or some might be disposed to question the propriety of our designating the unethereal object on the obverse, a *rainbow*.

27. *Obv.*—QUEENE HEAD TAVERNE. Full-faced bust of Queen Elizabeth.

R.—AT HOLBORNE COVNDID. In the field, E. E. H. (*Mr. Price*).

This locality is mentioned by several authors as the resort of pawnbrokers and usurers. An old satirical poem,

printed in 1611, under the title "The Letting of Humour's Blood in the Head-Veine," has the following topographical allusions.

"Oh Sir, why that's as true as you are heere :  
With one example I will make it cleere ;  
And far to fetch the same I will not goe,  
But unto Houndsditch, to the Brokers' Row ;  
Or any place where that trade doth remaine,  
Whether at *Holborne Conduit*, or *Long Lane*."

28. *Obv.*—THE CROS SHVFLS. Two shovels saltier-wise.  
R.—IN BOW STREETE, 1653. In the field, H. B. S.

This token is without the name or calling of the issuer, by which we may infer that it was a public house, frequented, as the sign would seem to indicate, by the labouring classes.

29. *Obv.*—THE MERMAYD TAVERN. A mermaid with the usual attributes.  
R.—IN BOWE LANE, 1652. In the field, I. A. P. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

In a former paper we gave a token of Y<sup>E</sup> MEARMAYD TAVERN, CHEAPSIDE,<sup>7</sup> which we assumed was the renowned "Mermaid in Chepe," and supposed that there was a back entrance to this tavern from Friday-street. Should our conjecture be well founded, we are strangely puzzled with the above token, which belongs to the Mermaid in *Bow Lane*, and can have nothing to do with the celebrated Tavern of that name. Did the fame of *the Mermaid* give rise to the several other similar signs which we know by tokens were in vogue at this time<sup>8</sup> ?

<sup>7</sup> Num. Chron. Vol. IX. p. 65.

<sup>8</sup> Every one knows that "*the Old Bear*," in Piccadilly, had his imitators, until Bruin's effigy at length appeared on a board nearly life-size, holding in his mouth a label inscribed, *I am the original !*



30. *Obv.*—THE WOODMONGRS ARM, (*sic*). A crown, placed on the point of a sword, between two bundles or faggots of wood.

R.—AT PICKLE HIRNE STARS. In the field, R. A. G.

The vitiated orthography of this token, *pickle hirne*, for pickle herring, is an imitation of the vulgar pronunciation of the word. These tokens furnish abundant evidence of the *ad libitum* mode of spelling in those days, and prove that it prevailed among those who were not entirely destitute of education. To the uninitiated we may add, that Pickle Herring Stairs is a landing-place on the river-side, near Tooley-street, Southwark.

31. *Obv.*—PELHAM MORE AT Y<sup>E</sup> SONN. A negro or blackamore's head above a figure of the sun.

R.—AND MORES HEAD AT MOREGATE, *the last three letters in monogram*. In the centre, HIS HALFE PENY.

(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The alliteration in this token shews the issuer to have been a wag, whose humour is about on a par with that of the puffing shop-keepers of our time.

32. *Obv.*—ABRAHAM BROWNE, AT Y<sup>E</sup>. A bear walking to the left.

R.—BRIDG FOOT, SOWTHWARK. In the field, HIS HALFE PENY. (*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The Bear at the bridge foot did not disappear until the demolition of Old London Bridge.

33. *Obv.*—EDWARD MVNS AT THE SVGAR. A sugar-loaf.

R.—LOAF ON LONDON BRIDG, 1668. In the field, HIS HALFE PENNY. (*Mr. W. Hawkins.*)

This is the only token we have met with issued by a tradesman living *on* London Bridge.

34 *Obv.*—THE KINGS HEAD TAVERN. The full-faced bust of Henry VIIth.

R.—IN OLD FISHE STREET. In the field, W. R. A.  
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

This was probably an old sign of the time of the monarch whose effigies the token appears to bear.

35. *Obv.*—THE LOBSTER AT THE. A lobster.

R.—MAIPOLE IN THE STRAND. In the field, E. G.  
(*Mr. W. Hawkins.*)

The "Lobster" was probably a house of entertainment, where that delicious shell-fish was dispensed with its accompanying salad.

36. *Obv.*—AT THE HALFE MOON. A crescent.

R.—IN THE CORTE, 1648. In the field ... H. B.  
(*Mr. Nightingale.*)

The date, 1648, is the earliest that occurs on this class of tokens: and it is so rare, that many persons failing to obtain a specimen, have doubted the existence of such a date on this description of money, which, by the example here given, appears scarcely to warrant the affiliation of Evelyn. That they were, however, struck as early as this year, is proved by other specimens. One of "the Seven Stars, in Cornhill," likewise in the possession of Mr. Nightingale, is also dated 1648. "The Half Moon in the Corte," is a peculiar style evidently implying *the court of that name*, or as the Scotch say, "of that ilk." There are divers Half-moon courts in London. The tavern of that name in Gracechurch Street stands at the corner of Half-Moon Passage; and an inn of the same designation is in a court or passage of the same name in Bishopsgate.



We leave to the learned in London topography to fix the locality of this token.

37. *Obv.*—JOHN CLARKE AT THE MAN. A human figure standing within a crescent, and holding by the horns; above, two rolls of tobacco.

R.—IN Y<sup>E</sup> MOON IN WAPING HIS HALF PENNY, 1668.  
and the initials, I. E. C. (*octangular*).  
(*Mr. W. Hawkins.*)

To what origin may we trace this popular sign? We do not think with Grimm, that it may be referred to the offender against the law of Moses,<sup>9</sup> but are more disposed to regard it as the relic of some obscure pagan myth, not perhaps of Anglo-Saxon, but of Oriental origin. The antiquary need not be reminded, that there was worshipped in Asia Minor, a male divinity called *Mην* or the month, and that on the coins of Antioch we have a representation of him wearing a Phrygian cap, his head being placed within a crescent.

38. *Obv.*—WILL BRANDON AT Y<sup>E</sup> HAVE. A man about to throw, a stick at a cock.

R.—AT IT ON DOWGATE HILL. In the field, HIS HALF PENY,  
and the initials, W. M. B. (*Mr. Boyne.*)

The brutal sport of throwing at cocks at Shrove-tide, was long a reproach to our countrymen. In our boyhood we often heard of, though we were never pained by witnessing, this cruel pastime, which in Wiltshire is called "cock squoiling," but we have seen the callow brood of sparrows, and other birds used in the same way. It seems probable that the sign of the cock to these houses, was an indication that cock-throwing was one of the diversions of

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<sup>9</sup> Num. xv. 32.

the garden or court at the rear, just as we now see the tempting intimation, "a dry skittle ground."<sup>10</sup>

39. *Obv.*—AT Y<sup>E</sup> WILL SOMERS BACKSIDE. A figure clad in a long gown, and wearing a hat, blowing a horn. In the field, OB.

R.—OVL D FISH STREET, 1666. In the field two flowers, the stalks uniting below in a true lover's knot, between the initials, I. M. W. (*Mr. Boyne*).

This token is curious as presenting us with the effigies of Henry the Eighth's famous jester, Will Somers, whose wit and talent and inoffensive manners made him a great favourite with that monarch and his court. He is here represented, as in the well-known print, wearing a cap and feather, and a long gown, and holding a sort of hunting horn. Our token is too small for the details of his costume; but it is no doubt intended to be exactly like that in the engraving, underneath which are the lines:—

"What though thou think'st mee clad in strange attire,  
Knowe I am suted to my owne deseire;  
And yet the characters describ'd upon mee,  
May shew thee that a King bestow'd them on mee;  
This Horne I have betokens Sommers game,  
Which sportive tyme will bid thee reade my name;  
All with my nature well agreeing too,  
As both the Name, and Tyme, and Habit doe."

<sup>10</sup> An intelligent correspondent of this journal observes — "William Brandon's token reminds me of the sports of my boyish days, when at school at Richmond, in Yorkshire. We had a game called 'Dumps,' which consisted of throwing or pitching pieces of lead cut into the shape of buttons, or counters about the size of farthings at a small leaden figure of a cock. The player gave to the owner of the cock, so many 'dumps,' for a certain number of throws, who gave to the player so many dumps if he knocked the cock over. Though we were perfectly unconscious of the origin of our game, yet there can scarcely be a doubt, that it was derived from the cruel sport of cock-throwing."

J. Y. A.

*Lewisham, May-Day, 1847.*



# VI.

## UNEDITED AUTONOMOUS AND IMPERIAL GREEK COINS.

By H. P. BORRELL, Esq.

[Read before the Numismatic Society, Nov. 26th, 1846.]

### LYCIA.

#### LYCIA IN GENERE.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΛΥ. Lyre; in the field, a bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. (*My cabinet.*)

2.—Head of Apollo, front face.

R.—ΔΥΚΙΩΝ. Bow and quiver. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

3.—Same head; in the field, a lyre.

R.—ΔΥΚΙΩΝ. Female head, front face. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet, and British Museum.*)

We have numerous coins of Lycia similar to the two first in the preceding list, on which are seen the initial letters of the name of a town as well as that of the province, sometimes expressed by the initials ΛΥ and sometimes in full length ΔΥΚΙΩΝ. As there are no indications of my three coins having been struck by any individual city, it would seem that there existed a separate currency, especially established with the concurrence of the united Lycian community. No province was more likely to have adopted a similar measure than that of Lycia; the people appear to have formed a regular representative government at a very early period. Each city, history informs us, sent a certain number of deputies to a general assembly. We have also a numerous series of coins struck for the province of Lycia during the Roman domination, which would lead us to infer that the system of a federal coinage was not a novelty, but merely the continuation of a more ancient usage.

## ANTIPHELLOS.

No. 1.—Laureated profile of Apollo.

R.—AYKON (sic) AN. Bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet, and British Museum.*)

There is no denying a Lycian origin to this small coin, and as there is no other locality the initials would suit, it is equally certain it may be claimed for Antiphellos. No autonomous coin of this city was previously known; and the only monument that has been published is a unique imperial coin of the emperor Gordian.<sup>1</sup>

## BALBURA.

No. 1.—Eagle standing, to the left.

R.—BAABOYΠEΩN. A winged thunderbolt, the whole within a laurel garland. Æ. 4. (*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

No. 2.—ΓΑΙΟC. CEBACTOC. Bare head of Caligula, to the right.

R.—BAABOYΠEΩN. The Lycian Hercules standing, full face and marked, a club in his right hand. Æ. 4. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

Both these coins of Balbura, one an autonomous, the other an imperial, are unique.

We learn from Stephanus<sup>2</sup> and Ptolemy,<sup>3</sup> that this city was situated in that part of Lycia which the latter denominates Carbalia, probably near the river Limyrus, and not far from the range of Taurus. Pliny<sup>4</sup> confirms the statement of the latter geographer: he says, “comprehendit in Mediterraneis Cabaliam, cujus tres urbes, CEnoanda, Balbura, Bubon.” Stephanus adds, that Balbura

<sup>1</sup> Sestini, Lett. tom. iii. p. 89, and Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 431, No. 5.

<sup>2</sup> In Βαλβούρα.

<sup>3</sup> Lib. v. cap. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Hist. Nat. lib 5. cap. 27.



and Bubon were founded by two robbers, from whom the names were derived, "Bubon enim et Balbura sunt urbes Lyciæ, sic dictæ à Balburo et Bubone. Hi verò latrones urbes condideri à sui ipsorum nomine." Balbura with Bubon, and Onoanda with Cibyra, formed a separate government, and were collectively denominated Tetrapolis. Cibyra was the most considerable of this confederation, for which it had a double vote in the public assemblies, whilst the others had but one each. The chiefs were despotic, but their rule is said to have been extremely just and moderate. Moagetes, who was defeated by Murena, was the last of these petty sovereigns, the conqueror detached Balbura and Bubon from the tetrapolis, and united them to Lycia.<sup>5</sup>

## BUBON.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—BOY. Bow and quiver. Æ. 2.

(*British Museum, from my collection.*)

The devices on this coin are purely Lycian. Combined with the initial letters, they justify our claiming it for the town of Bubon, which appears for the first time in the list of numismatic cities.

As to the origin of Bubon, I refer the reader to my preceding remarks on the coins of Balbura.

## CADIYANDA.

No. 1.—Profile of doubtful character.

R.—ΚΑΔΥ. Three-quarter figure of Mercury, facing the left, holding the caduceus in his right hand, the whole within a sunk circle. Æ. 3.

(*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

A late traveller<sup>6</sup> in Asia Minor alludes to his discovery

<sup>5</sup> Strabo, lib. xiii. p. 631.

<sup>6</sup> An Account of Discoveries in Lycia, by Charles Fellows, Second Excursion. London, 1841.

of an ancient city at a place called Yeddy Cappolee, which, from several inscriptions, he found to be the remains of Cadyanda. A short time after, my friend, Mr. James Whittall, procured on the same spot this interesting and unique coin, now described for the first time, which further enriches the numismatic geography of Lycia.

The extent of the ruins, the numerous tombs and other monuments, and the beauty of the sculpture which still exist at Cadyanda, is sufficient proof of its ancient importance: it is therefore the more remarkable, that it is unmentioned by geographers. Is it preferable to suppose that it really has escaped the notice of ancient writers; or rather, that we have it under a form of orthography so corrupt as to prevent its recognition?

The fabric of this coin is rather barbarous, and it is besides badly struck; but fortunately the legend is clear and perfect, which connected with the locality where it was found, and the inscriptions cited by Mr. Fellows, its classification to Cadyanda must be perfectly satisfactory.

CYANEAE.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΔΥΚΙΩΝ. KY. Lyre, in the field an uncertain symbol, the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. 43 grs.  
(*My cabinet.*)

This coin is somewhat different from that published by Combe<sup>7</sup> under Cydna, which Sestini and Millingen<sup>8</sup> have justly restored to Cyaneae.

No. 2.—Head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—ΚΤΗΡΟΣ. A sword; in the field, bucranium, and KYA (the two last letters in a monogram). AR. 2. 17½ grs.  
(*My cabinet.*)

<sup>7</sup> Mus. Hunt. p. 19. tab. xxii. fig. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Sestini Lett. tom. ii. p. 77, and Millingen Rec. de quelques Méd. Inéd. p. 67.



Millingen<sup>9</sup> has published another coin similar in types, but with a different magistrate's name, which he classes to Calynda, in Caria; but I cannot accept his reading of the monogram, AAY. A close examination will, in my opinion, convince the reader that my explanation is preferable.

No. 3.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram); a sword; the whole in a flat sunk square. Æ. 2.

(British Museum, from my cabinet.)

This coin illustrates the preceding, and goes far to prove the Lycian origin of both; the fabric and general character being decidedly Lycian.

No. 4.—Male head, with fillet and spike in front, to the right.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram) and INΩ. Naked figure standing, with a fillet around his head, in front of which is a spike, and holding the hasta transversely in his left hand. Æ. 3. (My cabinet.)

No. 5.—Head as the preceding.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram). Cornucopia. Æ. 2. (My cabinet.)

No. 6.—Head as last.

R.—KYA (the two last letters in a monogram). Sword. Æ. 1½.

All these coins undoubtedly belong to the same place, and they came at different times from Lycia. Millingen says, the sword is a frequent Carian type; but it is equally suited to Lycia, as it was a weapon in the use of which the Lycians excelled. In fact, in Belves' translation of Herodotus, there is the following note. Speaking of the Termilians, or Lycians, he says: "They are sometimes called

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<sup>9</sup> Sylloge of Ancient Unedited Coins, p. 72. tab. ii. No. 46.

Telmissi, I believe they both mean the same thing, both names relating to the kind of armour in use amongst them; the first denoting the short sword or poinard, the last the quiver and arrows, for which the Cretans<sup>10</sup> were famous; and both which Herodotus appropriates to the Lycians in book the seventh.

## LIMYRA.

No. 1.—Head of Diana, to the right, quiver over her shoulder.

R.—ΑΥΚΙΩΝ. ΑΙ. Bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

No. 2.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΙ. A winged thunderbolt. Æ. 2.

(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

Only silver coins of this city are published, which are of extreme rarity: in copper none have been previously noticed.

The types on No. 1 are such as occur on the smaller money of many other Lycian cities, the winged thunderbolt on No. 2 is observed as an adjunct on a silver coin of Limyra, cited by Mionnet,<sup>11</sup> from the cabinet of M. de Hermand; and it occurs again as the principal type upon a unique coin of Balbura described in this notice.

Limyra was situated in Lycia, about twenty stades distant from the eastern bank of a small river of the same name, Velleius Paterculus<sup>12</sup> mentions it as the place where Caius Cæsar died.

## MYRA.

No. 1.—Helmeted head of Pallas, to the right.

R.—ΜΥ. Head of Diana, full face, a quiver over her shoulder. Æ 2½. 27½ grs.

(*My cabinet, and Bank of England.*)

<sup>10</sup> The Lycians were descendants of the Cretans (see Pausanias, lib. vii. cap. 3).

<sup>11</sup> Tom. iii. p. 435 and 436, No. 27.

<sup>12</sup> Hist. Rom. lib. ii. cap. 102.



Four examples of this coin have been in my possession at different times ; and, as I have noticed, they were all brought from the Lycian coast, or from the island of Rhodes. I have ventured to assign them to Myra : otherwise they might be supposed to belong to Myrina, in Aeolis, or to some other city using similar initials. Diana was a favourite deity of the Lycian nation ; so was Apollo : but Pallas is less frequently seen on the coins of this province.

No. 2.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R —ΛΥΚΙΩΝ. Bow and quiver, in the field MY ; the whole in a flat sunk square. Æ. 2. (*My cabinet.*)

These types, as I have already remarked, seem to have been used in common on the smaller money of the Lycians.

#### PODALIA.

No. 1.—Veiled female head, to the right.

R.—ΠΟ. In a monogram, bow and quiver. Æ 1½.  
(*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

The devices on the reverse of this small coin, conjointly with the monogram, dispose me to assign it to Podalia, of which only another autonomous coin has reached us.<sup>13</sup>

The ecclesiastical notices and Ptolemy<sup>14</sup> place Podalia in Lycia, Stephanus in Lydia, and the council of Constantinople in Pisidia. The Lycian symbols on the money lead to the supposition that the two latter authorities are incorrect.

<sup>13</sup> Sestini. Lett. Num. Cont. tom. iii. p. 89. Mionnet, Suppt. tom. vii. p. 22. No. 88.

<sup>14</sup> Lib. v. cap. 3.

## TEMESSUS AND CRAGUS.

No. 1.—AY. Profile of Diana, to the right.

R.—TEA. KP. Stag standing, to the right. Æ. 4.  
(*My cabinet.*)

Here we have a unique coin, seeming by its legend to record an alliance between two Lycian cities, Telmessus and Cragus.<sup>15</sup> Of the first, Telmessus, we have hitherto no certain numismatic remains. There were three cities of Asia Minor, named Telmessus, one in Lycia, a second in Caria, and the third, more often called *Termessus*, in Persia. Of the Carian Telmessus (or *Telemessus*, for the coins read TEAEMEΣΣEΩN), Sestini was the first to give publicity to a very remarkable coin,<sup>16</sup> but it will now become a question, if that coin is not rather Lycian than Carian, as the Carian Telmessus appears to have been a place of small importance. At all events, my coin which bears the initials of Telmessus connected with those of Cragus, may safely be presumed to refer to the Lycian city, and probably even struck there, as it takes the precedence over that of Cragus. In this case, we have a new city to enrich our numismatic geography of Lycia.

On the earlier money, when it assumed the Greek character, Apollo and his attributes appear to have been the more general devices adopted by the people of Lycia; those which refer to Diana are, judging from their appear-

<sup>15</sup> I find Sestini has published a coin exactly similar as to type, as this of mine, but with TΑΩ. KP. denoting an alliance between Ilos and Cragus. See *Descrit. dell. Med. Ant. del. Mus. Hederv. tom. ii. p. 253, No. 2, tab. xxi. fig. 13, and Mionnet, Suppt. vii. p. 23, No. 92.*

<sup>16</sup> *Lett. Num. Cont. tom. iii. p. 81. Mionnet, Suppt. vi. p. 551, No. 532.*



ance, of a later period ; and of both we have numerous examples.

Returning to the question of Sestini's coin of Telmessus before alluded to, although I state it with regret, as it would be more agreeable to have two cities than one, yet the truth must be told, even if it should militate against a favorite theory. I, therefore, must record a fact, that a second example of Sestini's coin is now in possession of one of my friends, who procured it himself in the interior of Lycia, with others, all Lycian coins. This evidence, however, abstractedly considered, may be still insufficient to disturb Sestini's classification, as Lycia and Caria are bordering provinces ; but as it was the Lycian Telmessus which was on the frontier of Caria, and not that of Caria which approached Lycia, I confess, as regards myself, the evidence is weighty.

#### TITYASSA.

Mionnet,<sup>17</sup> for what motive I cannot conceive, assigns a coin of the Emperor Geta to a city of Tityassa, in Lycia, of which no geographer to my knowledge has made any mention. He again<sup>18</sup> describes the same coin under Tityassa, in Pisidia, from Sestini,<sup>19</sup> which is its proper place. Tityassa, in *Lycia*, must consequently be erased from our list of numismatic cities.

#### TLOS.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΑΥΚΙΩΝ ΤΑ. A lyre ; in the field, a small helmet ; the whole in a flat sunk square. AR. 3. 45 grs.

(*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

<sup>17</sup> Suppt. vii. p. 22, No. 89.      <sup>18</sup> Loc. cit. p. 142, No. 243.

<sup>19</sup> Let. Num. Contin. tom. iii. p. 142.

The helmet, as an adjunct on the reverse of this rare coin, distinguishes it from another given by Sestini.

2.—ΑΥ. Laureated head of Apollo, to the right.

R.—ΤΑ. A sword, the whole in a flat sunk square. Æ. 1½.  
(*My cabinet.*)

3.—Head as last.

R.—ΑΥΚΙ. ΤΑ. Bow and quiver, the whole in a flat sunk square. Æ. 1½. (*My cabinet.*)

The sword has been already noticed as an appropriate Lycian symbol, where it occurs on the coins of Cyaneæ.

4.—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC. CEB. Laureated bust of Gordianus Pius, to the right.

R.—ΤΑΩΕΩΝ. Victory passing, a palm branch in one hand, and a garland in the other. Æ. 9. (*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., of Smyrna.*)

Only another imperial coin besides the present is known of Tlos; it is also of Gordian, and marked by Mionnet as unique.

#### TREBENNA.<sup>20</sup>

No. 2.—ΑΥ. ΚΑΙ. ΜΑΡ. ΑΝΤ. ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΟC. Laureated head of Gordianus Pius, to the right.

R.—ΤΡΕΒΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ. Jupiter *Ætophorus*, sitting to the right. Æ. 10. (*Bank of England, from my cabinet.*)

Amongst the towns enumerated by Ptolemy around Mount Massicytes, in Lycia, is one which in some of the editions of that geographer is written Trebenda, and in others Arienda, probably the same as the Trebendæ of the

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<sup>20</sup> This unique medallion is classed in the collection of coins, which I ceded to the Bank of England in 1826, as uncertain of Phrygia. It was brought from Macri, the ancient Telmessus.



Ecclesiastical Notices, all of which Col. Leake<sup>20</sup> suggests may be so many corrupt readings for Arycanda. I presume that my unique medallion may belong to this town: it is in that case important, inasmuch that it shows, not only the true orthography to be Trebenna, but at the same time, that Leake is in error, who would confound it with Arycanda, a town of which we have some well-authenticated coins.

There is a small copper coin described in Sestini,<sup>21</sup> as follows:—

2.—Laureated head of Apollo.

R.—ΑΥΚΙΩΝ. TP. Bow and quiver.

which he classes to a town called Trabala, only mentioned by Stephanus. I am disposed to consider this autonomous coin also to belong to Trebenna.

The younger Gordian, whose effigy appears upon this fine medallion, seems to have been a great patron of the Lycians: his head predominates on the few imperial coins of the province. In most cases it occurs exclusively of any other.

## PAMPHYLIA.

### PERGA.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Diana, to the right, a quiver over her shoulder.

R.—ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ. ΠΕΡΓΑΙΑΣ. Diana standing, a garland in her right hand, the hasta in her left; near her, is a stag looking upwards; in the field, a small figure of a sphinx. AR. 9. 257 $\frac{4}{10}$  grs.

<sup>20</sup> Travels in Asia Minor.

<sup>21</sup> Lett. tom. iii. p. 90, and Mionnet Suppt. vii. p. 24.

This beautiful tetradrachm passed from my collection into that of J. R. Steuart, Esq., and is now in the British Museum. It differs from those already published, by the adjunct symbol of the sphinx in the field.<sup>22</sup>

## POGLA.

No. 1.—ΑΥ. :::::ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟC. Laureated head of Hadrian, to the right.

R.—ΠΩΓΑΕΩΝ. The Pergaian Diana standing, bow in left hand, and drawing an arrow from a quiver suspended over her shoulder, with her right. Æ. 4½. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—:::::ΔΟΜΝΑ. Head of Julia Domna, to the right.

R.—ΠΩΓΑ. Cone-shaped stone. Æ. 6. (*My cabinet.*)

Pogla is mentioned by Ptolemy, and the Ecclesiastical Notices. The former places it in that part of Pamphylia called Carbalia, between Cretopolis and Mendemium.

The coins of Pogla are of the greatest rarity, and were unknown to Eckhel. One of Geta, was first published by Mionnet,<sup>23</sup> from the Allier collection,<sup>24</sup> but his description of it is incorrect: instead of Apollo, the type exhibits the Diana Pergææ, as on my coin of Hadrian. Another, of Trajan Decius, is published by Sestini.<sup>25</sup>

The cone-shaped stone on the reverse of my No. 2, is frequently seen on the coins of other cities, both of Pamphylia and of Pisidia: it is the most ancient form under which the famous Diana of Perga was worshipped.

<sup>22</sup> The sphinx occurs on a brass coin of Perga, as a principal type.

<sup>23</sup> Tom. iii. p. 470, No. 135.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Dumersan, *Descript. des Méd. Ant. du Cab. Allier.*

<sup>25</sup> *Descr. del Med. Ant. Gr. del Mus. Hederv. tom. ii. p. 259, No. 1. In add. Tab. v. fig. 11, and Mionnet, Suppt. tom. vii. p. 62.*



## PISIDIA.

## ADADA.

Haym<sup>26</sup> has published a coin of Adada, of Valerian and Gallienus, of the medallion size, which Mionnet<sup>27</sup> considers to be a false attribution. I can, however, vouch for the authenticity and the correct reading of Haym's coin, as a fine specimen came into my possession from Adalia, a few years ago.

## ANDEDA.

See my remarks on two coins of this city, erroneously classed to Perga, by Mionnet and others, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. II. p. 1.

## ANTIOCHIA.

No. 1.—ANTIOCH. Bare youthful head of Mercury, the caduceus over his shoulder.

R.—COLONIAE. A flaming altar. Æ. 4. (*My cabinet.*)

Of imperial coins of the Pisidian Antiochia, we have a remarkable abundance, but, on the contrary, the colonial coins are exceedingly rare; only three varieties are published, exhibiting different types to the present. The flaming altar is not unfrequently seen on coins of Asia Minor: it refers, probably, to religious rites established by the Persians at a more early period. It occurs on a coin of Hypaepa,<sup>28</sup> in Lydia, where the Persians had a temple served by Magi. At Hierocæsarea, in the same province,

<sup>26</sup> Thes. Brit. tom. ii. tab. xxiv. fig. 6, p. 278, edit. Lond.

<sup>27</sup> Suppt. tom. vii. p. 87.

<sup>28</sup> It is an unpublished type in my possession.

Cyrus dedicated a temple to the Persian Diana,<sup>29</sup> and on a well known coin of that city, the goddess is represented accompanied with the legend ΠΕΡΣΙΚΗ, on the reverse of which is also a flaming altar.<sup>30</sup>

## APOLLONIA.

See my notice on some remarkable coins, indubitably struck in this city, in the Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. II. page 182.

## BARIS.

No. 1.—Turreted female head, to the right.

R.—BAPHNΩN. Naked figure of Bacchus, the thyrsus in one hand, and the cantharus in the other. Æ. 3½.  
(*Cabinet of J. Whittall, Esq., Smyrna.*)

The present coin is valuable, as being the only autonomous one of Baris, a city only very lately known to us by a rare imperial coin, recorded by Sestini, and after him by Mionnet.<sup>31</sup>

No. 2.—Γ. Μ. Κ. ΕΤΡΥΚ. ΔΕΚΙΟC. Κ. Bare head of Etruscus Decius, to the right.

R.—BAPHNΩN. Lunus on horseback, to the right. Æ. 6.  
(*My cabinet.*)

3.—ΑΤ. (*sic*) Γ. ΟΥΕΙΒ. ΤΡΕ. ΓΑΛΛΟC CΕΒ. Laureated head of Trebonius Gallus, to the right.

R.—BAPHNΩN. Lunus standing, his right foot resting on something indistinct, holding a conic stone, or perhaps the fruit of the pine in his right hand, and the hasta in his left. Æ. 7. (*My cabinet.*)

<sup>29</sup> Tacitus, An. lib. iii. cap. 62 For the Persian temples in Asia Minor, see also Pausanias, book v. chap. 27.

<sup>30</sup> Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. tom. iii. p. 103. Mionnet, tom. iv. p. 48, No. 249.

<sup>31</sup> Sestini, Lett. Num. Cont. tom. viii. p. 90, and Mionnet, Suppt. tom. vii. p. 112.



Sestini's coins of Baris, are of Sept. Severus, and of Alexander; the two cited above, have never been noticed: there is nothing unusual in the types. The subject has often been discussed in the course of these notices.

I profit by the present opportunity to correct an error, which Mionnet has inadvertently committed, of giving a double attribution of the same coin. It is of Alexander Severus, in his Supplement, tom. viii. p. 112: it is ascribed to Baris, and again in the same volume, p. 226, to Bagae in Lydia. It belongs to Baris.

#### CONANA.

No. 1.—AY. TPA. AΔPIANOC. Laureated head of Hadrian, to the right.

R.—KONANЄQN. Lunus standing, a globe in his extended right hand, and the hasta in his left. Æ. 4.

(*British Museum, from my collection.*)

No mention of Conana is to be found except in the *Notitiæ Ecclesiasticæ*: it is perhaps the same as the Comana of Ptolemy. The coins of this city are extremely rare; the present one of Hadrian is earlier than the few already published, the most ancient in the list previously known is one of Antoninus Pius.

#### CRETOPOLIS.

Experience has taught me that the coins similar to those ascribed by Sestini<sup>32</sup> and Mionnet<sup>33</sup> to Cratia, in Bithynia, are much more likely to belong to Cretopolis, in Pisidia, for they have been constantly brought to me in company with coins of other cities of Pisidia, and the adjacent provinces.

<sup>32</sup> Descr. d. Med. Ant. del Mus. Hederv. p. 44, Nos. 1 and 2.

<sup>33</sup> Suppt. v. p. 32, Nos. 173 and 174.

Observations on the localities where particular coins are constantly found, particularly during so long a period as twenty-five years, become of value. I need no other apology for recording the result of mine here for the general benefit of numismatic science.

## CREMNA.

No. 1.—IMP. CAES. C. MES. Q. . . DECIVS P. F. AVG.

Laureated head of Mysius Decius, to the right.

R.—SILVA. COL. CREM. Silvanus standing, an uncertain instrument in his right hand, and the *pedum* in his left. *Æ.* 4½. (*My cabinet.*)

Upon this rare coin of Cremna, struck under the younger Decius, we have the unusual figure of Silvanus, who, being a deity of Italian origin, had his worship probably introduced into the city by the early Roman colonists.

## PEDNELISSUS.

No. 1.—ΑΥΡΗΑΙΟΚ ΚΑΙCΑΡ. Bare head of Aurelius Antoninus, to the right.

R.—ΠΕΔΝΗΑΙCCEΩΝ. Jupiter *Ætrophorus* seated. *Æ.* 5.  
(*My cabinet.*)

2.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΑΝ. Laureated and bearded head of the same.

R.—ΠΕΔΝΗΑΙCCEΩΝ. Cone-shaped stone in a temple. *Æ.* 2. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

3.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥ. CΕ. ΑΔΕΞΑΝΔΡΟC CΕΒ. Laureated head of Alexander Severus, to the right.

R.—ΠΕΔΝΗΑΙCCEΩΝ (*sic*). Nemesis standing, with her usual attributes. *Æ.* 4½. (*My cabinet.*)

The name of this city, both on coins and in ancient authors, is written indifferently, Petnolissus and Pednelissus.

The only two coins hitherto published of this city, are of the emperors Commodus and of Maximus. On the latter



is represented the figure of Nemesis, as on my No. 3. The cone-shaped stone, on the reverse of No. 2, occurs on a coin of Pogla, and on another of Perga. It refers to the worship of Diana Pergææ, which seems to have been widely spread over both Pamphylia and Pisidia.

Pednelissus, though a place of small importance, must have been strongly fortified; it successfully resisted a siege against a powerful body of Selgians, till it was relieved by Garsycris, a general in the service of Achæus; and it was under the walls of this city, that the Selgians were defeated with the loss of ten thousand men.<sup>34</sup>

#### PROSTANNA.<sup>35</sup>

No. 1.—ΑΥ. ΚΑ. Α. CЄ. CЄΟΥΗΡΟC Π. Laureated head of Sept. Severus, to the right.

R.—ΠΡΟCΤΑΝΝΕΩΝ. Distyle temple, in which is the god Lunus standing, front face; in his right hand he holds some indistinct object, and in his left, the cone-shaped stone; a crescent across his shoulders and another on his forehead; at his feet, on either side, a lion. In the field, to the right, a sphinx above and a cock below. Æ. 9½. (*My cabinet.*)

The few imperial coins that are published of Prostanna, are all of the emperor Claudius Gothicus; the present, of Septimus Severus, being of a much earlier date, entitles it to notice. It is equally remarkable for the number of attributes which accompany the god Lunus.

No. 2.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΚΑΑΥΔΙΟC. Laureated bust of Claudius Gothicus, to the right.

R.—ΠΡΟCΤΑΝΝΕΩΝ. River god reclining on an urn, a long branch in his right hand; on the exergue, an indistinct legend, thus, ΙΟΑΩΝΥΤ. Æ. 8. (*My cabinet.*)

<sup>34</sup> Polybius, lib. v. cap. 7.

<sup>35</sup> The Prostama of Ptolemy.

The geographical position of Prostanna is designated upon a rare coin, on which is represented a mountain with the legend ΟΥΙΑΡΟΣ<sup>36</sup> (Mount Viarus); but this mountain is unnoticed by geographers. On the preceding coin, which is also of Claudius Gothicus, the type on the reverse exhibits a river god; the name of the river, which might have been of great importance, is unfortunately indecipherable, nothing can be determined by the few detached letters which remain distinct.

## SAGALASSUS.

No. 1.—Laureated and bearded head of Jupiter, to the right.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ. Cornucopia, with fillets, filled with fruit. Æ. 4.

(*Cabinet of M. Gillet, French Consul at Tarsus.*)

Only one other silver coin of Sagalassus has been published,<sup>37</sup> presenting the same head of Jupiter, but with a different reverse to the present.

No. 2.—ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΣ. Laureated bust of Hadrian, to the right.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΕΩΝ. Lunus standing, an indistinct object in his extended right hand; at his feet, a bull. Æ. 7.

(*My cabinet.*)

The epithet of Olympius, given to the emperor Hadrian on this coin, is not peculiar to Sagalassus, it occurs on the money of several other Asiatic cities. Rasche, in his "Lexicon Universæ Rei Numariæ," has given a list of these cities under the word Ὀλύμπιος.

No. 3.—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑΙ. ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΟΣ. Laureated head of Marcus Antoninus, to the right.

R.—ΣΑΓΑΛΑΚΚΕΩΝ. Apollo seated, his left hand on a lyre, which stands upon a column. Æ. 7.

(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

<sup>36</sup> Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 510, and Suppt. vii. p. 122.

<sup>37</sup> In the French National Collection, Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 511, No. 103.



No. 4.—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥ. ΑΝΤΩΝ. Laureated head of Caracalla.  
R.—CΑΓΑΛΛΑCCEΩΝ. Apollo, as last. Æ. 6.

(*My cabinet.*)

5.—Μ. ΟΠΕΑ. ΑΝΤ. ΔΙΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΙΑΝΟC. Bare head of  
Diadumenian.

R.—CΑΓΑΛΛΑCCEΩΝ. Pluto seated, patera in one hand,  
and hasta in the other, the dog Cerberus at his feet.  
Æ. 6. (*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

Pluto is represented on another coin of this city, struck  
for Marcus Aurelius.<sup>38</sup>

No. 6.—ΙΟΥΑ. ΚΟΡ. ΠΑΥΛΑ C. Head of Julia Cornelia Paula  
to the right.

R.—CΑΓΑΛΛΑCCEΩΝ. Mercury seated on a rock, a purse  
in one hand, and the caduceus in the other. Æ. 4.

(*Same cabinet, from same.*)

7.—: ΚΟC. ΕΤΡ. ΜΕ. ΔΕΚΙΟC. Laureated head of  
Etruscus Decius.

R.—CΑΓΑΛΛΑCCEΩΝ. Victory passing, holding a garland.  
Æ. 6. (*My cabinet.*)

8.—CΑΛΩΝΕΙΝΑ. Bust of Salonina on a crescent, in the  
field.

R.—CΑΓΑΛΛΑCCEΩΝ. Eagle standing. Æ. 9.  
(*My cabinet.*)

These coins present nothing worthy of remark: they  
are merely varieties of types different from those pub-  
lished.

Some writers are of opinion, that Sagalassus was a  
colony of the Belgians, and through them claimed descent  
from Lacedæmon. This accounts for the legend ΛΑΚΕ-  
ΔΑΙΜΩΝ CΑΓΑΛΑCCOC, which is found on a coin of Mar-  
cus Aurelius.<sup>39</sup> From other coins we learn that the city  
was situated on the river Cestrus;<sup>40</sup> and, moreover, that  
the Sagalassians claimed for their city the title of Capital

<sup>38</sup> Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 513, No. 116.

<sup>39</sup> Mionnet, tom. iii. p. 513, No. 115 and No. 124.

<sup>40</sup> Idem, loc. cit. p. 516, No. 133.

of Pisidia, and allied with Rome : pretensions we find on a remarkable coin of Valerian. ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ ΣΑΓΑΛΑΣ-  
 ΚΑΙΩΝ (*sic*). ΠΡΩΤΗΣ ΠΙΣΙΔΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΙΛΗΣ ΣΥΝΜΑΧΟΥ.<sup>41</sup>

SELEUCIA.

No. 1.—ΚΛΑΥΔ. ΣΕΛΕΥΚ. Turreted female head, to the right.

R.—A ram standing (no legend). Æ. 3.

(*British Museum, from my cabinet.*)

2.—ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΔΟΜΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΚΤ. Head of Julia Domna.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛ. ΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Bacchus standing, the  
 thyrsus in one hand, and the cantharus in the other.  
 Æ. 7. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

3.—ΑΥΤ. ΚΑ. Μ. ΑΝΤ. : : : : Laureated head of Cara-  
 calla, to the right.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Naked figure of Bacchus stand-  
 ing, his right hand held above his head; on one side a  
 small figure of a satyr, and on the other a panther.  
 Æ. 9. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

4.—ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΥΑ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΕ. Laureated head  
 of Alexander Severus.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Hercules striking the hydra  
 of Lerna with his club. Æ. 9.  
 (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

5.—ΑΥ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΚΛΑ. Laureated head of Claudius  
 Gothicus.

R.—ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ. Jupiter Nicephorus seated.  
 Æ. 9. (*Same cabinet, from same.*)

Vaillant<sup>42</sup> and Banduri<sup>43</sup> have attributed some im-  
 perial coins with ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΚΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ, to the town of  
 Seleucia, in Cilicia, under the impression that the legend  
 denoted an alliance between that city and Claudopolis in  
 the same province. Eckhel's opinion, however, that they  
 belong to the Seleucia of Pisidia, has justly prevailed with

<sup>41</sup> Idem, loc. cit. p. 516, No. 131.

<sup>42</sup> Numismata Græca.

<sup>43</sup> Tom. i. p. 194.



later writers.<sup>44</sup> The Seleucia of Pisidia was named *ad Taurum*, from its vicinity to Mount Taurus. It probably adopted the surname of Claudia from the first emperor of that name.

The first coin on this list is autonomous. None were previously noticed; but, as it bears the name of Claudia, it must have been struck under the Roman domination. Under No. 4 of Alexander Severus, Hercules is represented destroying the hydra of Lerna; but the present differs from the same subject on other coins, as he is untended by Minerva.

## SELGE.

No. 1.—Laureated head of Hercules, front face; in the field a club.

R.—ΣΕΛΓΙΩΝ. Inscribed between a club and a kind of plant in a vase, below Z. AR.  $2\frac{1}{2}$ .  $31\frac{1}{2}$  grs.  
(*My cabinet.*)

This is an unpublished type of the already abundant series of coins of Selge.

Sestini has assigned two silver coins to this city, which certainly belong to Sicyon.<sup>45</sup> The kneeling figure which he describes as an Apollo, is of Diana. I have already pointed out this error in my notices under Sicyon in this Chronicle, Vol. VI. p. 135.

H. P. BORRELL.

*Smyrna, 20th Feb. 1843.*

*To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.*

<sup>44</sup> Doct. Num. Vet. tom. iii. p. 23.

<sup>45</sup> Lett. Num. tom. vi. p. 60, and Descrit. del Med. Ant. del Mus. Hederv. tom. ii. p. 271, tab. xxii. fig. 5; also, Mionnet, Suppt. vol. vii. p. 132, Nos. 194 and 195.

## MISCELLANEA.

**LIGHT GOLD:**—*Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th of March, 1847; for an Account of the Expenses incurred at the Mint, on the Recoinage of of 2,860,282 ounces of Light Gold received from the Bank of England, under the Minute of Treasury, dated the 8th day of June, 1842.* Ordered, by the House of Commons, to be Printed, 29th March, 1847.

### No. 1. Copy of Treasury Minute of the 8th June 1842.

It having been represented to my Lords that great inconvenience results from the quantity of light gold coin now in circulation, and it appearing to my Lords that it would tend to diminish this evil if the Bank of England were authorised to receive, on behalf of the Government, such light gold coin, at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* the ounce, being the Mint price, my Lords are pleased to direct a letter to be written to the Bank of England, requesting them to give public notice of their readiness to receive gold coin, not being of the weight at which such coin is authorised by law to be current, at the rate of 3*l.* 17*s.* 10½*d.* per ounce, and to transmit the same, when received, to the Mint, for recoinage.

### No. 2. Expenses incurred at the Mint in the Recoinage of the Light Gold Coin.

Loss on the old coin, after being melted and assayed, 149lbs.	£	s.	d.
3oz. 17dwts. 14grs., at 3 <i>l.</i> 17 <i>s.</i> 10½ <i>d.</i> per oz. - - -	6,977	2	7
Melting down the coin into ingots for recoinage, 236,523lbs.			
6oz., at 4 <i>d.</i> per lb. - - - - -	3,942	1	2
The Master's assayer, making the assays of the ingots, 11,825 ingots, at 2 <i>s.</i> per ingot - - - - -	1,182	10	0
Coinage Charges; viz.—			
The moneyers, 207,727lbs. 6oz. 2dwts.			
10grs. into Sovereigns, at 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per lb. £36,352	6	3	
Ditto, 30,480lbs. into half-sovereigns, at 4 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per lb. - - - - -	6,858	0	0
	43,210	6	3
The melter, 207,727lbs. 6oz. 2dwts. 10grs.			
into sovereigns, at 10 <i>d.</i> per lb. - - -	8,655	6	3
Ditto, 30,480lbs. into half-sovereigns, at 11½ <i>d.</i> per lb. - - - - -	1,439	6	8
	10,094	12	11
The refiner, refining 101lbs. 2oz. 15dwts., at 6 <i>s.</i> per lb. - - -	30	7	4
The Surveyor of meltings, for extra duty and attendance in superintending the melting of the light coin into ingots for the assay - - - - -	150	0	0
Contingent expenses for charcoal, acid, steel dies, and incidental expenses of every description, estimated at 5 <i>d.</i> per cent. -	2,320	5	0
Carried forward, £67,907	5	3	



	£	s.	d.
Deduct:			
Expense of melting saved on 22,000 ounces of light coin containing silver, delivered to be refined - - - - -	£30	11	1
Allowance received for the silver extracted from the above coin, at 2d. per lb. - - -	15	5	5
Profit by excess on the tale of the monies coined, over the computed value - - -	45	15	2
		91	11 8
Actual Expenses incurred in the Recoinage - - -	£67,815	13	7

*Mint Office, 23rd March, 1847.* Jas. W. Morrison, Dep. Master.

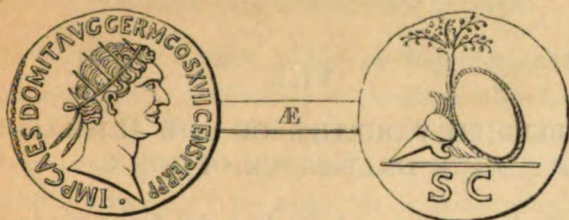
DISCOVERY OF ROMAN COINS IN NORFOLK.—Towards the close of last year, at Beachamwell, in this county, as a boy was digging in a sand-pit, which had recently been opened, he struck his spade, about two feet from the surface, against an earthen urn or jar, from which fell a number of silver coins, which proved to be of the Roman Imperial Series. The jar containing them was broken, and part of it could not be found: a circumstance the more to be regretted as it was in good preservation and of fine workmanship, having the word *SOSIMIM* stamped on the bottom—This jar was covered over by another, the upper one being of superior manufacture. The place where these relics of antiquity were found is on a heath, in the occupation of Mr. J. Chambers, situated very near a plantation called Wellmere, in the parish above mentioned, the property of the Hon. C. Spencer Cowper, the present worthy High Sheriff of Norfolk.—The exact number of coins discovered cannot be ascertained, but it is believed to have amounted to fifty. Of these thirty-seven have been collected, and submitted to inspection. They consist of denarii, struck under the following Emperors: viz. *Vespasian* five; *Domitian* two; *Nerva* one; *Trajan* three; *Hadrian* eight; *Antoninus Pius* seven; *Faustina the elder*, three; *M. Aurelius* two; *Faustina the younger*, one; *L. Verus* three; *Commodus* one; to this enumeration is to be added a (consular) medal of the *Antonia* family. With two or three exceptions the whole of these are in tolerably good, and many of them in very excellent, preservation. The only *rare* reverses amongst them, are the *TELVS STABILITA*, and the *HISPANIA* of *Hadrian*; together with a type of *Hercules*, of the same reign; and the *FORTVNA OBSEQVENS* of *Antoninus Pius*.—*Norfolk Chronicle*.

COLLECTION OF ROMAN COINS AT COLOGNE.—Mr. J. M. G. Fontaine, at Cologne, is charged with the sale of a collection of Roman coins in that city. It consists of 7015 specimens, of which 92 are gold, 2370 silver, and 4553 brass of different sizes. Mr. Bachem, bookseller to the Court at Cologne, will supply catalogues to persons desiring particulars, through any bookseller in correspondence with the Continent.

No 38







VII.

UNEDITED COIN OF DOMITIAN.

It is not often that an unedited coin of the Roman Imperial series comes under the notice of the Numismatist. The above engraving is an accurate representation of a second brass coin of the Emperor Domitian, from a drawing by the possessor, Mr. B. Nightingale. The type of the reverse furnishes a very apt illustration of the history of Imperial Rome. We, however, had already a very perfect concordance of the types of the money of Domitian with the recital of the historian. Suetonius especially mentions the veneration in which the goddess Minerva, whose festivals he caused to be celebrated on the Alban Mount every year, was held by the tyrant;<sup>1</sup> and this is confirmed in a most satisfactory manner, by the exceedingly common denarii of Domitian, on which the favourite divinity is represented on the summit of a rostral column in the attitude of combat. The rare gold and silver medallions of this emperor have the same type,<sup>2</sup> and testify to the accuracy of the Biographer of the Cæsars.

<sup>1</sup> Celebrabat et in Albano quotannis Quinquatria Minervæ cui collegium instituerat. Suet. in Dom. c. 4. The same author mentions his ominous dream, that Minerva had withdrawn her protection from him:—Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat somniavit exedere sacrario, etc. Ibid. c. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Mionnet, *De la Rareté*, etc. vol. i., and *Descriptive Catalogue of Rare and Unedited Roman Coins*, vol. i. p. 199.



## VIII.

### UNPUBLISHED VARIETIES OF THE IRISH FULL-FACE HALF-PENCE OF JOHN.

AMONG a large number of the Irish full-face half-pence of John, procured for me, at the sale, in 1845, at Sotheby's, of the coins of Thomas Walker, Esq., of Ravenswood Park, Yorkshire, I was so fortunate as to obtain one, which reads, on the reverse, "+ WALTEx ON Rē," this being a variety, as yet unpublished and unnoticed.

I have also since seen two other full-face half-pence of John, procured also from Mr. Walker's sale, one of which reads, on reverse, "+ WALTEx ON RēN," the other, "+ WALTER ON RēN."

There is not any town in Ireland of the period of John, to which we could safely appropriate these coins, and the question then remains, as to what locality they can be given, so as to remove all doubt of their being specimens of John's coins, struck during his lordship in Ireland.

The coins are *precisely similar, in every respect* (except the legends, on reverses as above stated), to those other full-face halfpence of John, reading on obverse "+ IO-HANNES DŌM" so often engraved, and already so well known, and now to be found in a large number of varieties, in almost every cabinet and collection of Irish coins. I have therefore thought it superfluous to send you drawings.

Among the known varieties of the full-face half-pence of John, I find in my own cabinet one reading on reverse, "+ WALTER ON WĀ." And I am inclined to conclude, that the coins reading "WALTER," and "WALTEx ON Rē" and "RēN" were also struck by the same "Master Walter," and also, in the same town, viz. Waterford.

On referring to Smith's History of Waterford,<sup>1</sup> and also, to the more recent publication on the same subject, by the Reverend R. H. Ryland,<sup>2</sup> I find Mr. Ryland making use of these words at page 112, in describing Reginald's Tower, situated in that city: he says, "It is called Reginald's Tower, from the name of its founder, by whom it was erected, in 1003.<sup>3</sup> In some ancient documents, this place is called Dondory, *Reynold's Tower*, and the Ring Tower. The last is a corruption of the original name. Reginald's Tower, of which a print is annexed, is the oldest castle in Ireland." I find Mr. Ryland also alluding to it as follows:—"Reginald's Tower has been used for many and various purposes: originally a fortification, it was afterwards used as a prison, a *royal mint*, a depository of public stores, and more recently, a place of confinement, and a watch-house. Under the name of Dondory, it was constituted a *royal mint*, and is thus represented in several statutes."

Doctor Charles Smith, at page 117 of his history (as is also copied in Ryland), gives a Statute of Edward the Fourth, from the Roll's office, regarding the Mint at Waterford, in 1463. A recital in the words of this statute, may not be deemed uninteresting to our purpose: "Roll's Office, Stat. 3, Edw. IV., No. 39, 1463. It being enacted by a Parliament held at Drogheda, Ann. 38. Hen. VI., that the gross [i.e. the groat], the dernier, the demi-dernier, and the quadrant should be struck within the

<sup>1</sup> The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford, by Charles Smith, M.D., 8vo. William Wilson, Dublin, 1774.

<sup>2</sup> The History, Topography, and Antiquities of the County and City of Waterford, by the Reverend R. H. Ryland. 8vo. London, John Murray, 1824.

<sup>3</sup> Reginald's Tower was built in the year 1003 by Reginald (son of Ivorus or Ivars), king of the Danes, at Waterford.



“castles of Dublin, and Trim, now the Mayor, Bailiffs, and  
“Commons of Waterford are daily incumbered for want of  
“small coins, for change of greater, it is enacted, at their  
“petition, that the above-mentioned small coins be struck  
“at Waterford, in a place called Dondory, *alias*, *Reynold's*  
“*Tower*, and that they be made of the same weight, print,  
“and size, as is mentioned in the said act, to be done in the  
“Castles of Dublin and Trim, and that they shall have  
“this scripture : *Civitas Waterford*.”

From the words of the above statute, there is not the slightest doubt whatever, that *Reynold's*, or Reginald's Tower, in the City of Waterford, was once the spot of a *Royal Mint*, and that it was used as such previously, and also during the period of John's lordship in Ireland, we may be assured, as well from the above fact, as that both Henry the Second, and his son John made it, as the historian observes, “the depot of their power and strength.”

If, therefore, it is admitted, and I think there can be very little doubt about it, that the coins reading “RE,” and “REN” were minted in Reginald's Tower, they must be considered of very peculiar interest, as we can not only appropriate them to the town, but also to the very building in which they were struck, and which still exists in all its pristine state and strength on the Long Quay at Waterford.

To appropriate a coin of so early a date, to the very existing building in which it was minted, must be esteemed a rarity indeed, and in the case of an Irish coin, a more than peculiar one, when we contemplate the almost numberless scenes of rapine, destruction and confiscation, which this unhappy country has undergone during the last six centuries and a half.

Why “Master Walter” peculiarised Reginald's Tower, and also Waterford, I leave to others to decide.

Perhaps when the former were minted, John did not hold sway over the entire town of Waterford, which he might afterwards have been considered as possessing, and perhaps, what the historian says of his father, Henry the Second :<sup>4</sup> "that at his departure, he left not one true subject behind him, more than he found on coming over," might be also at that time as appropriately told of John; therefore the first spot and stronghold of his power, the mint of his *first coins*, Reginald's Tower, was peculiarised. It may, however, be as probable that the place of mintage was afterwards changed for some other building in Waterford.

I have only further to state, that I understand the varieties of this mint and moneyer are very rare, a few only being known, and these not until after the dispersion of the very large hoards of the coins of John at Mr. Walker's sale.

Believe me to remain,

Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

EDWARD HOARE.

Cork, June 1st., 1847.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.

P. S.—I have a very fine full-face half-penny of John, in my cabinet, reading on reverse: "+ TVRGOD ON DWE," a variety hitherto unpublished. I have also seen another specimen, precisely similar, in the collection of Dr. Aquilla Smith of Dublin. These coins did not belong to Mr. Walker's hoards. They were both procured in Ireland, long previous to Mr. Walker's sale. I have seen two others also, which I have no doubt were similar to the above, but so badly preserved, that only a portion of the word "Turgod" was legible. I have also an unpublished variety, "+ GE-FREI ON WA."

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<sup>4</sup> See Ryland, page 14.



## IX.

### OBSERVATIONS ON COINS OF SELINUS.

IN some observations on the types of the coins of Caulonia, Numismatic Chronicle No. XXXVI., I took occasion to advert to the illustration furnished by those of Selinus, of the relation, recognised by the ancients, between the rites of healthful lustration, and the influence or agency of the Sun-god: restricting myself, however, to general indications of the import of the Sicilian coin, and reference to the authorities by which it is decided.

The subject will reward more detailed examination; little perhaps may be added to the accepted elucidation of the Selinuntian type<sup>1</sup>, of which an engraving was then given; but another occurs on a parallel set of coins of the same city, which has not, so far as I am aware, received equal attention: and the examination of this, necessarily leads us to review the historical anecdote to which they refer in common.

The city of Selinus, according to Diogenes Laertius in the life of Empedocles, suffered from the pestilential exhalations of an adjacent river, causing great mortality, as well as difficult and dangerous labours of their women. Whatever may be thought of the assigned cause in this particular instance, it is well known that puerperal fevers constantly are recognised as endemic; and this is not the only trace of the same observation having been made in

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<sup>1</sup> K. O. Müller: *Annali dell' Inst.* 1835, p. 263.

antiquity. To remedy the evil, the philosopher formed a plan, and executed it at his own charge, by which he connected two of the rivers of the vicinity and rendered the waters sweet by the admixture. The pestilence ceased, and when on a certain occasion Empedocles appeared among the citizens as they feasted on the banks of the river, they rose up and prostrated themselves and prayed to him as a god.

The rivers of the locality were the Selinus and the Hypsas, the latter receiving the waters of the Crimisu. They reach the sea through the low grounds on either side of the elevation occupied by the ruins of the once flourishing city, and after ages of desolation, the original character of the locality is but too well re-established, and the miasma from swamps and shallows renders it at present a task of danger to explore the formerly populous and busy seat of ancient civilisation.

Whatever may have been the actual concern of Empedocles in the matter, which fortunately we are not now called on to discuss, we can have no difficulty in recognising the story of some operations of hydraulic engineering by which salubrity was gained for Selinus, as truly historical. Perhaps it is not rash to venture to substitute a more probable theory of their nature for the notion of the biographer, who appears to ascribe the improvement to the sweetening effects of mixing a pure stream with a foul one. The details of this particular instance and the analogy of others indicate that the drainage of the marsh was effected, by passing through it a copious current in a well constructed channel.

The Colymbethra of Megaris, ascribed to Dædalus, and that of Agrigentum, executed together with the enormous works for the drainage of the same town by the labour of



Carthaginian captives, are other Sicilian examples of works of the same class as the Selinuntian in question.<sup>2</sup> (Diod. xi. 25).

Both rivers, the Selinus and the Hypsas, appear on the coins personified as naked male human figures, with small horas budding from their foreheads. On the coin already published, the river-god Selinus holds in his left hand the lustral branch, emblem of purification, and with his right makes a libation at an altar, which, from the cock in front of it, appears to pertain to a health-god, whether Apollo or Æsculapius. The leaf in the field of the coin is that of the *σελινος*, parsley or rather celery, which abounded in the neighbourhood, and alludes to the name of the city. Plutarch mentions the dedication by the Selinuntians of a representation of the plant in gold, as a *συμβολον* or *παράσημον* of their town (Plut. de Pyth. Orac. xii.).

Behind the river-god is a small bull, which from the formal base on which it is placed evidently represents a statue; it may stand for a gloss, as type of a river according to the analogies of Sicilian and Italian coins; a bronze bull at Gela was said by Timæus to represent the river Gela; in the present instance the more special allusion is probably to the second river concerned in the purification commemorated.

On the reverse of the coin we have Apollo discharging

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<sup>2</sup> Ausserhalb des eigentlichen Griechenlandes ist vor Allem Syrakus für die Kenntniss hellenischer Wasserbauten wichtig. Die unterirdischen Wassercanäle, welche die Athener zum Theil zerstörten, sind in ganzer Länge zu verfolgen und bringen noch heute reichliches Trinkwasser in die Stadt. Dieser unterirdische Fluss geht selbst von der Akradina unter dem Meere durch nach der Insel Ortygia hinüber, wie dies schon Fazello mit Staunen bemerkte. — *E. Curtius, Archäolog. Zeit. N. F.* p. 31.

his arrows, in a car guided by his sister Artemis; the notice that the pest affected women in childbed gives peculiar propriety to the presence of the goddess, whose own shafts afflict the *gravidaë puellæ*. The group is usually explained as the production of the pestilence by the arrows of Apollo, the rays of the sun-god. Such is the effect ascribed to his archery in the *Iliad*; but we have already seen in the Caulonian notes, that pestilence was stayed as well as excited by his arrows, and the Theban chorus of Sophocles invokes him to relieve them by this means:—

Λυκεῖ ἀναξ, τὰ τε σα χρυσοστροφῶν ἀπ' ἀγκυλῶν  
βέλεα θέλοιμ' ἀν ἀδαματ' ἐνδατεῖσθαι  
ἀρωγὰ προστάθεντα, τὰς τε πυρφόρους  
Ἀρτεμίδος ἀνγλας. κ.τ.λ.—v. 202. *Ædip. Tyr.*

The same motive appears for the associated appeal to Artemis at Thebes as at Selinus. (Cf. v. 172.)

The group of the divine twins resembles that on a frieze of the temple of Phigaleia, which was raised to Apollo, as *Epikoureios* and as *queller of a pestilence*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> To complete the analogy to the Caulonian instance, it may be noticed, that Empedocles had the title *κωνστανεμας* or *αλεξανεμας*, from the control he was said to have exercised over the winds when operating destructively on vegetation. The form of conjuration employed by him (cf. *Diog. Laert. in vit.*), with *ασκοι*, made of asses' skins, I doubt not was derived from some prevalent Western superstition that helped Homer to his fiction of the bag of winds given by *Æolus* to *Odysseus*—an *ασκος* formed of a hide. As sacrifices of asses belong peculiarly to Apollo (*Pindar, Pyth. x. 33*, among the *Hyperboreans*: at *Delphi Corp. Insc. v. 1. fasc. iii.*), we may conclude that the purifying god, addressed by Empedocles, was, as seen on the coins, Apollo, the sun-god purging the air and breezes.

εὐηλιῶς πνεοντ' ἐπιστεῖχειν χθονα.—*Æsch. Eumen. 905.*



The coin inscribed Hypsas presents us with the god of the river, personified like the Selinus, and making a libation at an altar of similar form, but instead of the cock, a serpent appears in front of it, and coiling round it; a health symbol like the cock, and, like that, appropriate either to Apollo or Asclepius his son.

The leaf of celery again appears in the field, and instead of the statue of a bull, a heron, which as a wader is an apt emblem of a marsh or shallow stream, and renders it probable that it was the Hypsas of which the sluggish waters were the cause of the mischief.

It is the type on the reverse of this coin, Hercules struggling with a bull, which he holds by the horn with his left hand, his right grasping his knotted and menacing club, that is more particularly the subject of the present analysis.

Hercules had many adventures in Sicily,—he traversed the island on his return from the West with the cattle of Geryon, he sacrificed a bull from the herd to Demeter and Korè, and owed refreshment from his labours to the thermal waters that abounded in Sicily, and of which not the least celebrated were in the neighbourhood of Selinus (Diod. iv. 78).

I am inclined, however, to regard the Hercules bull-tamer of the coin as a mythical antitype of the labours by which the courses of the Selinuntian rivers were corrected, and specially, for reasons that will presently appear, as Hercules and the Achelous. Hercules, according to the

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I may insert here a grammarian's note on the alteration of the name of the Italian city: Eustathius p. 628. quotes Heracleides of Alexandria on the formation of *κελευθος* from *ελευθος*: *πλεονασμῷ του κ, ὡ λογῶ και την Αυλωνιαν Χαραξ Κανλωνιαν φησιν εν Ιταλικοις. ουτω δε φησι, και τα ανθηλια, κανθηλια.*

legend, wrestled with the river Achelous in the form of a bull, and broke off one of his horns, in requital of which he gave him the horn of Amaltheia, the emblem of inexhaustible fertility and plenty. The prize of the contest was Deïanira, daughter of Oineus and Doris, or some said of Dionusos.

In the Iliad (xxi. 237) the Trojan river contending with Achilles, throws out the dead on the shore, *μεμυκώς ἦν τε ταυρος*, roaring like a bull; a sufficient proof, I hold, that the personification of rivers as bulls is as old as Homer. The Scholiast (ibid.) observes that Archilochus, less daring than Homer, represented Achelous contending with Hercules, not as a river but as a bull.

Strabo (ii. 342, Tauch.) interprets the legend as a mythical account of certain actual engineering operations by which, by means of mounds and cuttings, dams and channels (*παραχωμασι τε και διοχετειαις*), the course of the river was corrected and restrained, and a fertile tract gained for cultivation. The river, apparently, was carried into a more direct channel, and one *καμπος* or reach, called, says Strabo, a *κερας*, was drained. The fertility of the ground thus won gave rise, according to the geographer, to the story of the horn of Amalthea.

Legend has other parallel stories which confirm this interpretation, and in other respects it is completely in accordance with the peculiarities of the locality. One of the labours of Hercules was the draining of the stables of Augeas in Elis, a country early and closely connected with the Ætolians of the Achelous, and of which the districts lying about the mouths of its rivers are, according to all authorities, of a nature to render necessary such operations of embankment and draining as legend indicates. The early age in which such works were undertaken in



Greece, and in consequence of which they came to be ascribed to a mythical hero, may be illustrated by the extensive operations connected with the peculiar drainage of the plain of the Lake Copais, the country of the Minyans of Orchomenos.<sup>4</sup>

The Pheneatæ of Arcadia regarded as works of Hercules, the *βαπαθρα* or subterraneous channels by which their rivers escaped and their plain was preserved from inundation. Paus. viii. 14. The Stymphalian lake was drained by a similar chasm (Id. vii. 22), and Hercules again was no doubt the engineer: his success is represented in legend, on coins and other monuments as the driving away of the Stymphalian birds, i.e. the waterfowl of the lake. The departure of these, as a natural symbol of the destruction of their haunt, is parallel to the heron of Selinus, evidently represented in full retreat.

The account of the purification of Elis given by Apollodorus agrees remarkably with that of Selinus, as related by Diogenes Laertius. In either case, low grounds or stagnant marshes seem to have been drained by forming a channel through them for a considerable stream, obtained by the junction of several smaller. Hercules in Elis, says the mythologist (ii. 5. 3.) *τον Αλφειον ποταμον και τον Πηνειον συνεγγυς ρεοντας παροχετευσας επηγαγεν*. While Diogenes with parallel expression says of Empedocles at Selinus, *δυο τινας ποταμους των συνεγγυς επαγαγειν*.

Whether, however, this agreement of expressions had foundation in fact or not is quite indifferent to the ex-

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<sup>4</sup> The Hydra quelled by Hercules, by its name a water monster, had its haunt among the marshes, springs and lakes, both numerous and remarkable, of the district of Lerna. — Cf. Pausanias ii. 37, 4. On the chest of Cypselus Hercules was represented slaying the Hydra in the Lernæan river Amumone (Id. v. 17. 11.).

planation of the type of our coin; there is no doubt of the antiquity of the group of Hercules struggling with the bull, as representing the contest of the hero with a river-god, and whatever may have been the origin of the story of the contest, its existence in this form rendered it an appropriate antitype of the historical operations at Selinus, and supplies an explanation, sufficient, according to the analogies of Greek habits of association, to account for the combination of the two subjects on the monument.

The suggestion and propriety of the type can, however, be demonstrated with still greater exactness. There were grounds for the diffusion and application of the type of the Achelous more widely than other purely local emblems and legends. It was a sacred river, celebrated by Hesiod as the oldest of the 3000 floods, offspring of Oceanus and Tethys. Much of its celebrity seems also to have been due to its relation to the archaic fame of Dodona, to the oracles of which, according to Ephorus (ap. Macrob. Sat. v.), the injunction was always appended, to sacrifice to Achelous. Hence, he adds, Achelous became a common name for water in general, particularly of living streams, and in connection with sacred rites. All living waters were called by his name (compare the Scholiast to Iliad  $\Phi$ . 194.—*Ἀχελῷον παν πηγαιον ὕδωρ*). The usage of poets is to the same effect as noticed by Macrobius in his comments on Virgil's line,—

Poculaque inventis Acheloia miscuit uvis.—Georg.

He cites parallel expressions of Aristophanes and Euripides.

The name Achelous is probably in its root the same as the Latin *aqua*, to which that of Achilles, son of the personified land and sea, has also been conjectured to be related; and so again it seems probable that Deïanira, the



object of his ardour, is the type of the land or γη, in the form occurring in *Δηω* and *Δημητηρ*; her descent from Oineus-Dionusos, implies agricultural symbolism, and thus she appears as a personification of the fertile tract, the recovered land at the embouchure of the river, the nymph of the locality. The Deïanira of Sophocles relates how the river wooed her in three several forms as a bull, a serpent, and in human shape bull-fronted:—

φοιτων εναργης ταυρος, αλλοτ' αιολος  
 δρακων ελικτος, αλλοτ' ανδρειω κυτει (vel τυπω)  
 βουπρωρος. (aliter βουκρανος).<sup>5</sup>

Two forms of the personified stream are recognised on the coins of the Selinus, the bull either with human head or its own, and the human figure with bull's horns; I have little hesitation in adding a third. On a small coin of the city, we see a seated female, and in front of her a huge serpent reared on its coils (*δρακων ελικτος*), which from the position of her hand, she appears to be pushing away from her. This gesture as well as the size of the creature forbids us to think of Hygeia with the health-serpent, which we see coiling round the altar on the larger specimen. We have therefore the river Achelous suitor in the form of a serpent to the unwilling Deïanira. The introduction of Hercules on other coins favours this view, in preference to transferring the personifications to the stream and country of Selinus itself.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Sophocles proceeds to mention the water-dripping beard of Achelous in this form; this, as bulls have no beards, proves that the expression *βουπρωρος* or *βουκρανος* had reference only to horns. The human figure with a bull's head of monuments is not a river, it is the Minotaur.

<sup>6</sup> So the altar by the Attic river was that of the Achelous, not the Eilissos.—Plato *Phædr.* 9.

Selinus was founded by the Megarians of Sicily, but under the conduct of Pamillus<sup>7</sup> as *κτιστής* from the continental metropolis; such a selection of a leader had ever a religious motive, and to the metropolis, therefore, to its symbols, legends and monuments, we are justified in looking, to explain those of the colony.<sup>8</sup>

The relations of Hercules to Megara are manifold. To this country must be referred the allusion contained in his marriage with Megara at Thebes, with which city Megara has a common fund of legend referring to Ino-Leucothea. The Megarians had many tales to tell of the descendants of the hero, and showed the tomb of Alcmena his mother. They boasted that they had conferred the rights of citizenship upon him (Plutarch de Un. in Rep. dom. ii.); doubtless, as usual in such legends, in return for services rendered, services which the mention of their single marshy stream suggests, were probably exerted in the regulation of their drainage and watercourses. However this may be, the Megarian tyrant Theagenes, father-in-law of the Athenian Cylon, paid much attention to the subject, and commemorated his labours by suitable symbolism, erecting an altar to Achelous at the spot called Rhous, whence he diverted the waters that flowed from the heights above the city. This dedication will at once be recognised as precisely parallel to the associated symbols of the coins of Selinus. We may safely conclude that the water thus diverted was, at least in part, employed by Theagenes to supply the celebrated architectural fountain which he constructed within the city; a work admired for its size,

<sup>7</sup> Thucydides.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Müller, Dorians i. p. 120, 230: on the faithful transference of the *cult* of the metropolis by another Megarian colony—Byzantium.



enrichment and numerous columniation. The water was called that of the nymphs Sithnidæ<sup>9</sup> (Paus. lxi. 1.).

Hence we are guided to the suggestion of the subject of the Megarian dedication in their treasury at Olympia: a group of Hercules and Achelous contending for Deïanira in the presence of Zeus, and severally aided by Athene and Ares. The tympanum of the building was enriched with a representation of the battle of gods and giants, Hercules doubtless participating; the exploit which Pindar (Nem. I. 62 ff) associates with the victories of the hero over monsters both by land and water, and harmonised here with the reference of the inscription to a victory over the Corinthians. (Paus. vi. 19. 9.)

These considerations of the general symbolism of the contest of Hercules and Achelous, and of the relation of the hero to the Megarian colonists of Selinus, appear to account for and explain the selection of the type as a mythical equivalent of the hydraulic operations referred to in the sacrifice of the obverse. The interpretation of the reverse of this coin favours a parallel interpretation of the function of Apollo on the others, as Epikoureios; in either case the pestilence, or its cause, is quelled and controlled.

Achelous, however, was not the only bull that yielded to the might of Hercules; as one of his appointed labours, he tamed the bull of Cnossus in Crete, and took it alive to Argos. There is much appearance that here again we have a personified river, and that the feat of the hero is a

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<sup>9</sup> Cf. E. Curtius in Gerhard's *Archäologischer Zeitung*, N. F. 2, p. 30. Die Megarische Wasserleitung des Theagenes, welche eine Quelle des Kithäron auffing, verdiente sehr eine genaue Untersuchung: ihre Linie ist durch eine in späterer Zeit aufgemauerte Wasserrinne kenntlich und ihre Mündung unweit der Stadt nachzuweisen. Es scheint, dass das quellenarme Megara vorzugsweise ein Sitz der Wasserbaukunst war.

figure for some great engineering work at that metropolis of the early civilisation represented by Minos. Pausanias (i. 27, 9.) associates it with the valley of a river; he says that it devastated Crete generally, and especially the country about the Tethrin, apparently the same stream as the Theren of Diodorus (v. 72.), and perhaps connected with Tritta, an ancient name of the city (Hesychius in v.). Two other streams are mentioned at Cnossus, the Kairatos (Strabo x. 730 and 732), and the Amnisus; and one of its two havens is named Heracleion.

The bull of Europa, no less than that of Pasiphae, has also some traces of a fluvial character—whether original or secondary; it is connected with the river Lethæus at Gortyna, whose appearance in this form and relation is justified by the analogy of the numerous loves of the general prototype Achelous, for Deïanira, Perimele, etc.—Solinus preserves the legend (xviii):—“*Gortynam amn: Lethæus præterfluit: quo Europa tauri dorso Gortyni ferunt vectitatem.*”

The Cnossian animal got loose at Argos, and is found at Marathon in Attica, where it affords an adventure to Theseus the emulator of Hercules. The plain of Marathon was marshy—the marsh so fatal to the Persians—but did this arise as at Selinus from a river? “In Marathon, says Pausanias (i. 32, 6), is a lake, for the most part marshy, a river issues from it which at the part near the lake is suitable for cattle, but where it falls into the sea it is brackish and full of sea-fish.” The Marathonian *demus* dedicated a bronze bull on the Athenian Acropolis, to be compared with the statues of river-bulls at Gela and on the coins of Selinus (compare also the dedication of the Coreyræans at Olympia. Paus. x. 9, 2).

The *demus* of Marathon claimed peculiar interest in



Hercules: they professed to have been the first that worshipped him as a god; hence his children are brought by Euripides as supplicants to Marathon (Heracleid. v. 32. Paus. i. 32. 5. Herodot. vi. 116.); and from the local indications there is ground to suspect that in the plain of Marathon the same contest with overflowing or stagnant waters once took place as we find at Elis, the Achelous and Selinus, and that Hercules, not Theseus, was the hero to whom the exploit was originally assigned.

Plutarch gives a legend (Theseus xxxv.) to account for the transference of the Attic honours of Hercules to Theseus; and hence the labours of Hercules furnish the subjects of the metopes of the Theseion. Euripides also has allusion to the association if not interchange of their honors. On the celebrated throne at Amyclæ, the subject of Theseus wrestling with the Minotaur was associated with that of Hercules wrestling with Achelous (*semivirumque bovem, semibovemque virum*); and on the same throne, by a version of the mythus new to Pausanias, Theseus was exhibited leading the Minotaur living and bound, just as he was said to have led the Marathonian bull to sacrifice it at the Acropolis.

The Minotaur, a human figure with bull's head, sprang from the fire-breathing bull of Cnossus and Pasiphae, disguised as a heifer by the art of Dædalus; the conjecture lies near at hand, that this story of an artificial heifer was invented to explain some public monument. So the bronze bull of Phalaris of Agrigentum, a locality where we shall meet with Dædalus again, appears, from the notice of Polybius<sup>10</sup>, to have really been furnished with a door about the shoulders, large enough to admit a man. The

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<sup>10</sup> Polyb. xxii. 25. Cf. Tzetzes Chil. v. 843.

work, like other Agrigentine productions, was perhaps colossal, and an entrance provided for no other or better reason than an entrance is left for the whimsical into the ball of St. Paul's.

The Agrigentine bull was carried to Carthage on the destruction of the city, and there remained, and was seen by Polybius when Carthage was destroyed in its turn. Scipio then restored it to Sicily, where it remained when Diodorus wrote (Diod. Sic. xiii. 91). The Agrigentines supplied themselves with another bull in its absence, which passed with the many as the bull of Phalaris; Timæus, however, recognised it as a statue of the river Gela,<sup>11</sup> and such also it might be conjectured was its prototype.

There are, however, some strong presumptions, that the bull of Phalaris, as an instrument of death or torture, though from religious and not from political motives, was no fiction originally, however it may have become in later times reduced to a mere symbol. This will appear if we follow forth the tracks of the bull of Cnossus. The Minotaur, its offspring, was also or otherwise named Asterios or Asterion,<sup>12</sup> and Cretan coins which bear his figure have on the reverse the symbol of the labyrinth with a star in its centre, with allusion to this celestial name. Asterios and Pasiphae are a pair of names the coinciding import of which directs us to look eastward: they indicate that a filament of astronomical mythology is woven into the web of the legend. Cow and bull are Oriental types of sun and moon, and the legend of Europa is but one of many traces of the early intercourse between Cyprus and Phœnicia; one of the most remarkable, being the monstrous offspring of the daughter of Minos. The

<sup>11</sup> Apud Schol. Pind. Pyth. i. 185.

<sup>12</sup> Apollod. iii. 1. Tzet. Lyco. 653. Paus. ii. 31, 1.



established fact of early Phœnician commerce is sufficient evidence of all the intercourse in early times that for our present purpose need be contended for, without entering into the proofs and probabilities of the settlement in the island of Phœnicians, or tribes of Greek or mixed blood from the Phœnician mainland.

The Rabbins describe the Moloch of Phœnicia as a human figure of brass with a calf's head; the very anti-type therefore of the Cretan Minotaur. Its arms were extended to receive the human victim, fire was kindled around it, and the sound of music drowned the cries of the victim (Selden, *De Diis Syriis* i. 6. Cf. Movers, *Die Phönicië*). So the Kronos, worshipped by the Phœnician colonists of Carthage, was a bronze figure with arms extended in such a manner, that when the child to be offered was laid on them, it rolled off into a fiery chasm beneath (Diodor. xx. 14). Corresponding with these notices, we have in Crete the legend of the brazen man, Talos, that locked strangers in its arms and leaped with them into the fire (Simon. ap. Suid. v. *Σαρδωνιος γελας*), and the Kouretes of Crete were said to have formerly sacrificed children to Kronos,<sup>13</sup> a state of things apparently represented in the mythus of the child-devouring propensities of the same god.

The labyrinth at Knossos being recognised as of the same nature and origin as other Cretan excavations, it can only be understood as the den of the Minotaur, as forming a cave temple containing the calf-headed idol.

The Greek legends, not to add to these the Greek

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<sup>13</sup> Porphyry, *De Abstinen.* ii. p. 202. The Cyprians of Amathus who made human sacrifices to Kronos, were turned by Aphrodite into horned men, Kerastai. (Lycophron. *Engel*, *Kypros*, i. 171.) The Cyprian Kronos was therefore the horned god of Phœnicia.

historical instances, of human sacrifices, are too abundant and coherent for us to pronounce them baseless fictions; the custom may even have been of native growth and origin; the heroes and heroines who devote themselves as willing sacrifices to their country, are within one degree of those who devote their nearest and dearest, whether willing or unwilling, for the same patriotic object or mere ambition. Such tendencies would at least assist the reception among tribes and races of Hellenic blood, of the sanguinary rites of Phœnicia, were assistance required in stages of immature civilisation, to aid the eager reception of foreign superstition, however in itself revolting. The Greek race, however, for the most part, and at an extraordinarily early date, worked itself free from such abominations; and the destruction of the Minotaur by Theseus on the one hand, on the other the dethronement of Kronos by Zeus, though nursed among the Kouretes, the former immolators of infants, appear to be the forms in which the triumph of the Hellenic over the Syrian type of worship is expressed and recorded in mythology—the great repository of all the ideas and incidents that sufficiently interested the early Greek mind, to command a record.

The bull of Knossus was called a fire-breathing animal,<sup>14</sup> a point remarkable from its relation to the fiery sacrifices of the Phœnician Moloch on the one hand, and on the other, to the fiery bull of Phalaris, the devourer, if not sacrificer, of infants,<sup>15</sup> which is found precisely in that part of Sicily, brought by legend into most immediate connection with Crete, and with Minos the patron of the Minotaur.

Dædalus who made the heifer of Pasiphae, was enclosed

<sup>14</sup> Serv. *Æn.* viii. 294.

<sup>15</sup> Eustath. 1485, 54.



in his own labyrinth, like Perillus in his bull, or Phalaris himself afterwards, but escaped thence to Sicily, where many works were ascribed to him, among others the Columbethra at Megaris, and the warm or vapour baths of Selinus, contrived by the management of warm natural exhalations in a cave. With these baths, apparently, the fate of Minos was connected who, having pursued Dædalus, was smothered or drowned in them by his host Cocalos and his daughters who favoured the fugitive. The Cretans, says Diodorus, built a double tomb for their king, depositing his bones in the secret place, and making the public one a temple of Aphrodite (Diod. iv. 79). This is a description of such a *διπλον οικημα* as occurs in several instances in Greece, where a hero or a heroic tomb is associated with a goddess's temple; the most remarkable instance, but only one of many, is the Erechtheion or temple of Athene Polias at Athens. The tomb, adds the historian, was discovered on the founding of Agrigentum, and the bones of Minos restored by Theron to the Cretans.

From this visit of Minos was dated the founding of Minoa, between Agrigentum and Selinus, afterwards colonised by the latter city and called also Heraclea.

The Cretan and Phœnician analogies of the bull of Phalaris, induce me to conclude in favour of direct influence from either quarter, otherwise the Megarian legends respecting Minos would suffice to account for the reappearance of parallel legends in the colony. I could even suspect that the Carthaginians, in removing the brazen Moloch bull of Phalaris to Africa, recognised a Phœnician symbol, and regarded it as something more than a mere trophy. The Sicilian tyrant himself was transformed by a vagary of tradition (though perhaps only by the slip of a copyist<sup>16</sup>)

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<sup>16</sup> By substitution of *θουαω* for *θυω*.

into a real Minotaur or Kronos, longing to devour or devouring infants at the breast, and even his own child.<sup>17</sup>

The confusion made by the Greeks between the Moloch-bull and the river-bull of Agrigentum has a parallel in that already alluded to, on the throne of Amyclæ, between the Cnossian or Marathonian bull and the Minotaur.

Personified rivers appear on Sicilian and Italian coins and monuments as bulls, bulls with human heads, human figures, and human figures with bull's horns. Sometimes a Nikè offers the bull a crown; and the idea of victory thus connected with the river-god probably has reference to the return of the festival in his honour, the occasion on which his statue would be crowned. The idea of the accomplishment of a course is probably not entirely alien to the symbolism. On a vase of the *Musée Blacas* the human-headed bull bears a female with a hydria, antitype of the loves of Achelous, and advances towards a λουτήρ, the usual symbol of lustration.

Another opportunity must be found for following forth the traces of astronomical symbolism associated with the emblem of the bull, conformably to its Eastern relations indicated in Cretan and Phœnician legend. To another opportunity, or to other expositors, must also be transferred the analysis of the Dionysiac character assumed by the legend. Dionysiac ideas laid hold of this as of all other Greek legends and symbols: they are visible in its neighbourhood, in the story of Achelous as wooer of a daughter of Oineus or Dionusos: ultimately, we find the ideas of the river-god, the sun-god and Dionusos as god of the vintage or general humidity, combined in the same principle,

<sup>17</sup> Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. vii. 5. Clearchus ap. Athenæ p. 396. Tatian. sec. 54. Aspasius ad Aristot. p. 154.



and detectable and patent in the same emblem. In this instance, however, as in so many others, the claim of Dionusos to the symbol is so clearly secondary, that there is no justification for assigning it to him in instances where no other mark of his claim is apparent.

The same observations apply to the Minotaur as a symbol. That it was in origin Dionysiac, is as contrary to mythological analogy, as that it should ultimately have escaped Dionysiac application and adoption.<sup>18</sup>

Thus ends my essay, in which I may at least say, that I have fairly taken the bull by the horns; this, it may be thought, although the boldest is not always the safest way of attacking a bull; and I must even in the present case leave others to decide whether Hercules or the bull has had the best of it.

W. WATKISS LLOYD.

6th August, 1847.

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<sup>18</sup> Cf. Gerhard's *Archæol. Zeitung*, N. F. Beil. i. p. 9. On a cylix of Vulci (red figures), Pasiphae is represented nursing on her lap the infant Minotaur; the external compositions are, on either side a female holding a human limb between two thyrsus-bearing Satyrs: an allusion probably to the Bacchic *ᾠμοφαγία* and the story of Pentheus and its parallels. Ariadne, spouse of the wine-god, for whom also Dædalus exerted his art (*Iliad* xviii. 592), and who rescued Theseus from the labyrinth, seems to be interchanged with Pasiphae, and brings the symbolism of Dionusos and Kronos into as close association as we find them on the vase. Have we another trace of such a connection in the cave-dwelling Cyclops of Homer, greedy of wine and human flesh?

## X,

COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS  
OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

(Continued from page 62.)

## TWENTIETH KING (A.H. 752—790; A.D. 1351—1388).

On the 27th of Muhurram, 752, Hindústán was relieved from the capricious rule of Mohammed bin Tuglak, and the vacant throne was filled by his cousin, Fírúz. In 754, the new monarch attempted to reduce Haji Ilias, who had thrown off his allegiance to the house of Delhí, and assumed regal honors as sovereign of Bengal and Behar: the emperor was, however, able to accomplish little or nothing towards the subjection of his revolted subject; and, not long afterwards, the kingdom of Bengal became effectively independent. In 755, Fírúz commenced the first of those magnificent public works which have perpetuated his name, while those of far mightier kings have been forgotten: the remains of many of these undertakings are still to be seen, scattered, in no scant proportion, over the face of northern Hindústán: indeed, in the original bed of a canal, first excavated by this monarch, at this day flow the waters of the Jumna, which irrigate the surrounding country, from the foot of the Sewalik, to Hissar; and a more modern branch from which supplies the present denizens of the once imperial city of Delhí.

Fruitful in solid benefits to his subjects and succeeding generations, the long and prosperous reign of Fírúz has

VOL. X.

T



afforded but slight materials for the historian: hence Ferishtah's narrative of his rule is almost confined to the enumeration of the roads, wells, canals, etc., which, to this time, in bearing the name of Fírúz, have, as yet, scarce needed a chronicler.

In the year 789, the sultan, suffering from the increasing infirmities incident to his advanced age, associated his son, Násir ud din, in the government of the empire; and, from this time, the public prayers were recited in the joint names of father and son. The arrangement thus completed was but of brief duration: a revolt in the capital resulted in the flight of the prince and the re-assumption of regal power by the father; who, however, again as quickly resigned it to a grandson, Ghiás ud din, son of Futteh Khán, who finally succeeded to the empire on the decease of Fírúz, which event took place in 790.

112.—Gold. 167 grs. R. (B. M.)

*Obv.* واثق بتأييد يزداني فيروز شاه سلطاني

Confiding in the benignity of God, the royal Fírúz Sháh.

R. ضربت هذه السكة في زمان الامام ابو العباس احمد—

خلدت ملكه This coin was struck in the time of the Imám Abúl Abbás Ahmed. May his sovereignty endure.

113.—Gold. 170 grs. (B. M.)

*Obv.* السلطان الاعظم سيف امير المؤمنين ابوالمظفر فيروز شاه—

السلطان The most mighty sultan, sword of the commander of the faithful, Abul Muzafar Fírúz Sháh, the sultan. May his reign be prolonged.

R. في زمان الامام امير المؤمنين ابو الفتح خلدت خلافته—

In the time of the Imám, commander of the faithful, Abúl Fateh. May his khalifat endure.

*Marg.* ضربت هذه السكة بحضر - - ين وسبعماية—

The assumption by Fīrūz, at this particular juncture, of the title of Seif Amīr Al Mominīn, as connected with the simultaneous recognition of the new Egyptian khalif, Abul Fateh Abubekir, who had only lately attained pontifical honors, seems to indicate that the title in question was the one conferred upon the former on the occasion of his investiture with the dress of honor, which was received at the court of Delhī in 757.

114.—Gold. 167 grs. Small coin. Date 788.

*Obv.*—سلطاني فيروز شاه

*R.*—٧٨٨ نايب امير المومنين

115.—Silver and copper mixed. 141 grs. Date 773.

*Obv.*—فيروز شاه سلطاني ضربت بحضرت دهلي

*R.*—٧٧٣ الخليفة امير المومنين خلد خلافته

116.—Copper and silver. 136 grs. Date 791.

*Obv.*—فيروز شاه ظفر سلطاني ضربت بحضرت دهلي

*R.*—٧٩١ الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

117.—Silver and copper. 54 grs.

*Obv.*—فيروز شاه سلطاني خلد ملكه

*R.*—الخليفة ابو الفتح خلدت خلافته

118.—Silver and copper. 140 grs. Date 784.

*Obv.* as No. 114.

*R.*—٧٨٤ الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

119.—Copper. 68 grs.

*Obv.* as No. 118.

*R.*—دار الملك دهلي

120.—Copper. 36 grs.

*Obv.*—فيروز سلطاني

*R.*—حضرت دهلي



121.—Copper. 55 grs.

*Obv.*—فیروز شاہ سلطانی

*R.*—ابو العباس احمد

122 and 123.—Coins similar in types and legends to No. 115, bear respectively the dates ۸۱۶ 816, and ۸۱۷ 817.

The appearance of two coins, dated severally *twenty-six* and *twenty-seven* years subsequent to the decease of the monarch whose name they bear, is not a little remarkable. Adverting to the previous history of Moslem Asiatic nations, the simple fact of the fabrication of money, displaying the titles of any given sovereign, continuing for a brief period immediately following his death, occasions no surprise: hence No. 116 is readily accepted as a posthumous coin of this class; but the lapse of more than a quarter of a century observable in the instances of Nos. 122 and 123, in placing these pieces so much beyond the limit usually admissible in parallel cases, leads to an enquiry whether unusual causes may not have led to their production. It is known that the issue of this species of coinage, though probably not *completely* serial, was renewed at divers times between the fixed periods of 790 and 816, as evidenced by specimens extant in the possession of Captain Cunningham, bearing dates 801 and 804.

The facts available, together with the unassailable evidence of the coins themselves, seem to necessitate a conclusion that, during the whole, or a portion of each of the years 801, 804, 816, and 817, if not during many of the intermediate ones, the dominant possessor of the city of Delhi issued money in the name of a previous king; ensuring, by this means, at the very least, a ready and unquestioned circulation of the coinage thus put forth, the counterpart of which must, at the time, have formed the

bulk of the circulating medium of the Delhi empire. As, however, this inference involves the deduction that either these parties coined no money in their own names, or, striking money of their own, were careless of this usually highly-prized right, it becomes necessary to examine whether it is possible that the individuals who, at each of these several marked periods held sway in the metropolis of Hindústán, should have submitted to the use of the titles of other kings on money issuing from the mint over which they maintained control. As regards the epochs of 801 and 804, it is to be remarked, that after the departure of Tímúr, and the subsequent speedy expulsion of Nusserut Sháh, the city of Delhi passed into the hands of Mullú Yekbal Khán, who retained possession of the town till his death, in 807. Though this chief acted entirely on his own account, and, as will be shown hereafter, considerably augmented his territories, it is nowhere asserted that he either coined money in his own name, or assumed any of the usual insignia of royalty. A difficulty might suggest itself in this place, in the fact of the continued existence of Mahmúd, a monarch duly inaugurated on the throne of Hindústán, who had fled to Guzrát on the capture of the metropolis by the Moghuls. Yekbal Khán does not, however, appear at any period after the departure of the Moghul host, to have, either directly or indirectly, acknowledged Mahmúd as sultan; indeed, it is by no means unlikely, that during the early part of his own independent rule, he should actually have discouraged any such recognition. It may, therefore, be assumed as highly probable, that to supply the currency requisite for the ordinary monetary transactions of his people, Yekbal Khán, having no pretence to strike coin in his own name, and no predilection to perpetuate the name of a king he was in effect supplanting, may have adopted the



expedient of issuing pieces similar to those of Fírúz, and still emblazoned with his titles; the like of which, to judge by the present comparative abundance of the specimens extant, must have formed a very considerable proportion of the total currency of the day. Referring to the period comprised in the two years 816 and 817, it is singular that during the first fifteen months of this time, it is also, at the least, doubtful whether any *king* reigned in Delhi. Mahmúd dying in 815, left no successor to the throne: the chief power in the state shortly afterwards fell to the lot of Daulat Khán Lodí: his actual assumption of regal honors, however, despite the directly expressed assertion of Ferishtah to that effect, is at the best highly problematical. This point, also, will be more fully noticed in its proper place; in the meantime, it may be adverted to as possibly bearing directly upon the present enquiry, in respect to the hitherto inexplicable non-discovery of any money displaying the name of the ruler in question. Daulat Khán surrendered to Khizr Khán in the third month of 817 A.H. Here, again, it is perhaps doing no violence to probabilities, remarking both the absence of any extant coin of Daulat Khán conjoined with the doubt of his kingship, and the clear testimony of the dates on coins Nos. 122, 123, to suppose that this chief, in imitation of the practice of a predecessor, issued coin in the name of Fírúz.

COINS BEARING THE JOINT NAMES OF FIRUZ AND HIS  
SON ZIFFER.

124.—Copper and silver. 78 grs.

*Obv.*—فیروز شاه ظفر ابن فیروز شاه

*R.*—ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافتہ

125.—Silver and copper. 78 grs. Coin bearing similar legends to the above, but the produce of different dies.

The above coins are, it will be seen, struck in the joint names of Fírúz and his son Ziffer: as it is known that Fírúz, in 760 A.H., conferred "the ensigns of royalty on his son, Futteh Khán," and that Mohammed, the second son, was, in 789 A.H., raised to the throne during the life-time of his father, it is by no means improbable that, in the like spirit, the third son should have been allowed to adopt so much of kingly rank as was implied in the exhibition of his name on the coinage, in the government over which he presided. There is much obscurity prevailing in Ferishtah, consequent upon an apparent confusion of two different persons bearing the title of Ziffer Khán. It is not perhaps requisite to enter into a detailed enquiry on the subject, as, notwithstanding the uncertainty which of necessity remains, there seems to be but little question, that the prince now sought to be identified, was *the Ziffer Khán*, governor of Mahobah (Bundelkund), who was so hastily despatched by the vizir on the occasion of the attack upon the latter's house by the Prince Mohammed, in 789 A.H.

#### TWENTY-FIRST KING (A.H. 790—791; A.D. 1388—1389).

The rule of Ghiás ud din Tuglak II. demands but brief notice, its events being told in the record, on the one hand, of the lax indulgence of the monarch, and, on the other, of his unavailing pursuit of the late joint-king Násir ud din. The sultan, having alarmed the nobles of his own court, a conspiracy was formed which put a period to his life and sway, little more than five months after his first attainment of the latter.

126.—Silver and copper. 136 grs. A.H. 790.

*Obv.*—تغلق شاه سلطانى ضربت محضرت دهلي

R.—الجليلة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٩٠



127.—Silver and copper. 80 grs.

*Obv.*—تغلق شاه سلطاني خلد ملک

*R.*—ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

128.—Copper. 68 grs.

*Obv.*—تغلق شاه سلطاني

*R.*—دار الملک دهلي

TWENTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 791—793; A.D. 1389—1390).

Abúbekir, the son of Ziffer, and grandson of Fírúz, was raised to the throne on the death of Tuglak II. The history of this reign is also comprised in but few words, being marked almost solely by the successful counteraction by the king, of the treasonable designs of his vizir, followed by the advance of Násir ud din; who, after various intermediate turns of fortune, once again sat on the throne of his father.

129.—Silver and copper. 134 grs. A.H. 791.

*Obv.*—ابوبکر شاه بن ظفر بن فیروز شاه سلطاني

*R.*—الحلیفه ابوعبد الله خلدت خلافته ۷۹۱

Coins of this type are extant bearing the several dates of 791, as above, and 792, and 793, A.H.

130.—Copper. 114 grs.

*Obv.*—In a square area ابو بکر شاه

*Marg.*—ظفر بن فیروز شاه سلطاني

*R.*—نایب امیر المومنین ۷۹۲

131.—Copper. 155 grs. Imperfect

*Obv.*—In a circular area ابو بکر شاه

*Marg.*—فیروز شاه - - -

*R.* as No. 130.

132.—Silver and copper. 47 grs. Small coin, obverse and reverse legends similar to No. 129.

133.—Copper. 58 grs.

Obv.— ابو بكر شاه ظفر سلطاني

R.— الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

TWENTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 793—796; A.D. 1390—1394).

The supremacy of Násir ud din Mohammed as sole monarch of Hindústán, which dates properly from Ramzán, 793, to Rubbi us Sani, 796, does not offer much matter for remark.

In the early part of the reign, the governor of Guzrát rebelled, but was subdued by the sultan's generals; as also were the Rahtor Rájputs, who shortly afterwards attempted to throw off their allegiance. Doubts having been suggested as to the faith of his vizir, the emperor hastened to meet the difficulty, and, by prompt action, secured himself against the possible consequences. A fever, aggravated by the exertions it was necessary to make to suppress an insurrection in Mewát, brought the career of this monarch to a close.

134.—Silver. 173 grs. (*Marsden's Cabinet, B.M.*)

Obv.— السلطان الاعظم ابوالمجاود محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطاني

The most mighty sovereign, Abúl Muhámed, Mohammed Sháh, (son of) the royal Fírúz Sháh.

R.— في زمن الامام امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

In the time of the Imám, commander of the faithful. May his khalifat endure.

135.—Impure silver. 167 grs. Date 795.

Obv.— محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطاني

R.— ابو عبد الله

Marg.— ٧٩٥ خلدت خلافته ضربت بحضرت دهلي

VOL. X.

U



136.—Silver and copper. 140 grs. Date 793. (Others are dated 794 and 795.)

*Obv.*—محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطان

*R.*—٧٩٣ الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

137.—Copper. 140 grs. Date 793 H.

*Obv.*—Centre محمد شاه

*Marg.*—ضربت بحضرت دهلي

*R.*—٧٩٣ نايب امير المؤمنين

138.—Copper. 68 grs. Small coin. 793.

*Obv.*—محمد شاه سلطاني

*R.*—٧٩٣ دار الملك دهلي

139.—Copper. 52 grs.

*Obv.*—محمد شاه فيروز شاه سلطان

*R.*— - الخليفة ابو عبد الله

#### TWENTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 796; A.D. 1394).

Humáyún, the son of Násir ud din, assumed, on his accession, the designation of Sekunder Shah. The historical record of the rule of this sovereign is confined to the announcement, that he attained regal honors and enjoyed them for the brief space of forty-five days.

140.—Silver and copper mixed. 142 grs. Date 795.<sup>23</sup>

*Obv.*—سكندر شاه محمد شاه سلطاني

*R.*—٧٩٥ الخليفة ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته

<sup>23</sup> The unit numeral on coin No. 140, displays a singular form of the figure ٥ *five*: it is somewhat strange to find this novel style of the figure in use almost simultaneously with the old five, to be

141.—Copper. 134 grs. Date 795.

*Obv.*—Centre سکندر شاه

*Marg.* - - حضرت

*R.*—۷۹۵ نایب امیر المومنین

observed on coin No. 135, which has, up to this time, been in no way distinguishable from a naught, as disclosed on No. 126. It is certainly possible that, in this particular instance, the employment of the unit numeral on the second coin may refer to the naught of 790, during part of which year Nasir ud din Mohammed was the effective sultan, in nominal conjunction with his father Firúz; but there are many reasons for doubting the probability that the coin in question should have been produced under the joint auspices of Firúz and Mohammed. Be this as it may, there can be no difficulty in admitting the fact, that the figure more immediately under notice represents a five, as both its present and its subsequent use clearly demonstrate that it can be no other numeral.

It is here necessary to rectify an error which has occurred in the assignment of the value of a numeral similar to that now referred to, which is to be seen occupying the place of the terminal figure of the annual date on the coin of Umur, No. 63. On a hasty examination, and adverting more particularly to the hitherto unquestioned date of the accession of this prince (716 A.H.), the late period in the year at which this event was placed, as well as to the brief duration of the reign itself, which barely extended into a second year, the value of this strange figure was accepted with little hesitation from the requirements of written history. Added to this, the absence of any apparent similitude with any of the other nine recognised numerals, and the facile transition from the correctly formed Persian ۱ to a character having a final flourish instead of an accurately prolonged perpendicular termination, seemed to explain the process whence the numeral derived its origin. The present collation of a more extensive series of specimens, bearing this character in a but slightly altered form, led to a doubt as to the due identification of its functions in the previous instance; and the result of this investigation has proved most decisively that whatever may have been the derivation, or the original design which attended the use of the figure, its subsequent employment could only refer to the number *five*. Marsden (p. 550) had already shown that a somewhat similar symbol was used to represent this number towards the close of the supremacy of the Afghán dynasty in India; and now, tracing this numeral in its little varied shape, upwards through the well-developed instances afforded by the coins of Behlól, Sekunder, and others, there remains no



142.—Copper. 67 grs.

Obv.—سکندر شاه سلطانی

R.—۷۹۵ دارالملک دهلي

TWENTY-FIFTH KING (A.H. 796—815; A.D. 1394—1413).

On the death of Sekunder Sháh, the nobles of the court elevated to the musnud his brother, Mahmúd, a minor. The very commencement of this nominal supremacy was marked by misfortunes; and the real weakness of the empire was increased by insurrections which sprang up on all sides: among the rest is to be noticed the important defection of the vizir, Khwaja Jehán, who, in this act, founded

possible obstacle to the recognition of its use in a similar signification on the coin of Umur. On the other hand, in the progress of the enquiry resulting from the attempt to verify the history of the Patán domination in Hindústán, too much reason has been found to distrust Ferishtah's accuracy, to make it necessary to pause in discrediting his *given date* in the present instance. In conclusion, it may be appropriate to endeavour to trace the derivation of this anomalous form of the Persian ۵. Admitting a difficulty previously noticed, regarding the want of sufficient distinction between the Persian . *naught* and the ۵ *five* once in use at Delhi, it is not improbable that the necessity of a more obvious means of discriminating the expression of these two numbers may have led to the adoption of the more purely local Devanagri ५ *five*, as a substitute for the Indo-Persian form of that figure. The Nágrí *five* approximates closely, especially in its cursive shape, to the early style of the adaptation of the numeral displayed on coin No. 63; but the *five* on the coins of Shír and Islám is so far changed that, read as a Nágrí figure, it would stand for a very correct *six*. A figure but slightly differing from the form employed on the coins of Shír is known to have supplied the place of a *four* on the Turkish money of the twelfth century A.H., and many of our modern founts of Persian type possess no other representative of this number. An instance of its use may be seen in the printed description of coin No. 95.

the temporarily powerful kingdom of Jánpúr. In 797 A.H., a new claimant to the throne was advanced, in the person of Nuserut Khán, a son of Futteh Khán, and grandson of Fírúz; and his supporters actually took and retained possession of the new portion of the capital denominated Fírúzábád, while Mahmúd and his followers held the old town of Delhí. In this anomalous state matters continued for the space of three years, each being in a measure king, and each holding his own dependent provinces of the empire: meanwhile, constant and sanguinary encounters occurred between the troops of the rival factions. At length, Mullú Yekbál Khan, who, in fit keeping with the whole of this strange proceeding, had remained an observant and neutral spectator, first deceived, and, for the time, ruined Nuserut Sháh, and then succeeded in getting possession of the person of Mahmúd, in whose name he thenceforth pretended to rule. This uncertain government was however put an end to by the advance of the celebrated Tímúr: the defeat of the Indian army, the surrender and subsequent merciless sack of Delhí followed; and, for five days, the Moghul conqueror continued feasting while his troops destroyed; and, to finish the inconsistency, "on the day of his departure he offered up to the Divine Majesty his sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise." The capital of Hindústán remained in a state of complete anarchy, to which were superadded the horrors of famine and pestilence, for the space of two months after the departure of Tímúr: at the end of this period, it was taken possession of by Nuserut Sháh, and, shortly afterwards, it again passed into the hands of Mullú Yekbál Khán, whose sway at this time, extended but little beyond its walls: the provinces being, in effect, independent under their several governors, who, one and all, styled themselves kings. Yekbál Khán,



nevertheless, succeeded in gradually enlarging his boundaries; and, in 804, was joined by Mahmúd (who had fled at the sack of Delhí to Guzrát), on whom he bestowed his protection and a *pension*. Yekbál Khán now undertook an expedition against Ibrahím Sháh Sherkí, the sultán of Jánpúr; and Mahmúd, thinking to improve his own condition, went over to Ibrahim: he was, however, received with but small encouragement, and, finally, was allowed by both parties to establish himself as a sort of local king of Kanój. On the death of Yekbál Khán, which took place in an action with Khizr Khán, the governor of Multán, Mahmúd was again invited to Delhí; but "deficient both in sense and courage," he made but little profit of his new position, and at last died in Zulkád, 815.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> The date of the death of Mahmúd is fixed by Ferishtah at the 11th Zulkád, 814 A.H.; and the assumption of power by Daulat Khán Lodí, is affirmed, by the same author, to have taken place on the 1st of Muhurum, 816. A difficulty is suggested in the very fact of the capital, and the country dependent upon it, having, as thus shown, remained for fourteen months without even a nominal ruler: this anomaly, moreover, is not attempted to be met by the writer in question, nor is even its existence noticed. (See Briggs, vol. i. page 504; Elphinstone, vol. ii. page 80).

The Tubkat Akberí gives the following explanation of the circumstances and dates bearing upon the matter, which, in satisfactorily accounting for what Ferishtah has left unexplained, seems, in so doing, to point out his error, as having arisen from a substitution of the year 814 for 815, as the period of the decease of Mahmúd:—

"After the death of Mahmúd, in Zulkad, 815, for two months anarchy prevailed in Delhí, when the nobles of that prince entered into a compact with Daulat Khan, and Mulik Ardriz and Mubáriz Khán passed over from Khizr Khán and joined Daulat Khán," etc.

The Mirát ul Alem also gives 815 as the year of Mahmúd's death; though it openly mentions some uncertainty as existing in regard to the extent of his reign, which is noted at "twenty or twenty-two years and two months."

143.—Silver. 174 grs.

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم ابوالمجاهد محمود شاه محمد شاه فيروز  
شاه سلطاني The most mighty sovereign Abúl Muhámed  
Mahmúd Sháh, (son of) Mohammed Sháh, (son of) the  
royal Fírúz Sháh.

*R.*— في زمن الامام امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته  
In the time of the Imám, commander of the faithful.  
May his khalifat endure.

144.—Silver (impure). 141 grs. Date 796.

*Obv.*—محمود شاه محمد شاه سلطاني

*R.*—الحليفه ابو عبد الله خلدت خلافته ٧٩٦

145.—Copper. 140 grs. Date 813.

*Obv.*—Centre محمود شاه

*Marg.* illegible.

*R.*—٨١٣ نايب امير المؤمنين

146.—Copper. 56 grs.

*Obv.*—Legend as No. 144.

*R.*—الحليفه امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

147.—Copper. 68 grs. Date 815 A.H. (See note <sup>24</sup>.)

*Obv.*—محمود شاه سلطاني

*R.*—٨١٥ دار الملك دهلي

#### TWENTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 797; A.D. 1395).

The history of the partial sovereignty of Nuserut Sháh, including both his three years' possession of Fírúzabad, and his momentary occupation of the metropolis after the departure of Tímúr, has been sufficiently adverted to in the notice of the reign of Mahmúd.

From 802, Nuserut Sháh appears to have been lost sight



of by Indian historians, though his coin, No. 151, would seem to indicate at least a temporary renewal of his power in 807 H.

148.—Copper. 143 grs.

*Obv.*—نصرت شاه سلطانى

*R.*—نایب امیر المومنین

149.—Copper. 57 grs.

*Obv.*—نصرت شاه سلطانى

*R.*—دار الملك دهلي

150.—Copper. 67 grs. Date 797.

*Obv.* as above.

*R.*—۷۹۷ دار الملك دهلي

151.—Copper. 67 grs. Date 807. Similar to No. 150.

Other coins bear date 798.

#### TWENTY-SEVENTH KING (A.H. 815—817; 1413—1414).

Whatever may have been the nominal designation under which Daulat Khán Lodí held the government of Delhí, the actual power pertaining to his office, whether monarchical or oligarchical, seems to have been but limited. Of the fifteen months allotted by historians as the duration of his chieftainship, eleven were occupied in petty attempts to extend his confined boundaries, and the remaining four were passed in suffering a siege, in the citadel of Delhí, and vainly opposing the arms of Khizr Khán, who, at the end of this time, succeeded in putting an end to the somewhat doubtful sovereignty of his adversary.

The absence of any specimens of the coinage of Daulat

Khán Lodí can hardly be said to cause surprise : on the one hand, his circumscribed rule and embarrassed circumstances must have gone far to limit any fabrication of his individual coins, and, on the other, the plunder of the metropolis and the surrounding country by the hordes of Timúr must, as it depopulated, have utterly for the time impoverished the narrow dominion over which alone Daulat Khán held sway. This country, moreover, was peculiarly *the* portion of all Hindústán the most afflicted by the inroad of the Moghuls. Added to this, were it not for the direct assertion of Ferishtah, that Daulat Khán assumed royal insignia, and struck coin in his own name, the tenor of the narrations of other authors might suggest some doubt on the subject :<sup>25</sup> a doubt that is naturally increased by the discovery of two coins impressed with the name of another monarch, struck in the capital of which Daulat Khán was nominal lord, and dated one in each of the years during nearly the whole of the first, and a portion of the second, of which his sway endured.

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# XI.

## ROMAN REMAINS, FARLEY HEATH.

DURING a brief visit, on the 15th of this month, to Martin F. Tupper, Esq., of Albury, in Surrey, we made an excursion to the site of the Ancient Roman Station at Farley Heath, which is within an hour's walk of my friend's residence.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Abúl Fazl does not allow Daulat Lodí a place in the list of the monarchs of Hindústán, though he mentions that the government was held by this chief for a limited period.

<sup>1</sup> An account of some former discoveries in 1839 and 1840, will be found in the Numismatic Chronicle, vol. iii. p. 83, com-



Our time being necessarily limited, our investigations did not proceed beyond a foot or two below the surface of the ground, and over but a small space of the supposed area of the station or camp; but our labours were rewarded with the discovery of three small brass Roman Coins, several pieces of the red Samian ware (chiefly of the ivy-leaf pattern), two fragments of pale green glass, *half* of a glass bead of a dark green colour with a wavy stripe of opaque white running through it, a rude bronze ring, a number of corroded iron nails, a boar's tusk, &c. Two of the coins are of the emperors Constantius and Theodosius, of common types; the third is of doubtful appropriation, from its having been double struck and blundered. That of Constantius is in fine preservation, and covered with a light green patina. The soil abounds with the bones of various animals, together with the remains of *burnt* bones supposed to be human. A large quantity of tiles, and pieces of brick and cement, and many small fragments of funereal urns, are strewn over the place; though mostly hidden by the turf, and in some degree obstructing the labours of the spade, Mr. Tupper has at intervals paid several visits to this spot, and generally with success,<sup>2</sup> as his collection, preserved at Albury, will testify;—and there is no doubt that an abundant harvest yet awaits the patient and laborious investigator.

B. N.

20th September, 1847.

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municated by Mr. Tupper. A detailed notice of his Farley-heath Coins is also recorded in Brayley's recently published "History of Surrey."

<sup>2</sup> Among the more recent acquisitions are several broken stone-weapons, a burnt flint celt, two carefully-rounded stones (evidently intended for slinging), and a portion of Roman tile, indented by the tread of a wolf or mastiff.

## MISCELLANEA.

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**SALE OF THE LATE COLONEL DURRANT'S COINS.**—Our readers will doubtless have observed that it is not our practice to take notice of coin sales. We abstain from doing so, from a feeling that our province is rather to illustrate coins by their bearing upon history and ancient mythology, than to furnish information as to their marketable value, for the guidance of those who buy or sell them. Nevertheless, as it will probably be expected of us that we should say a few words relative to the sale of the late Colonel Durrant's Cabinet, which took place on the 19th of April, and following days, we shall in this instance make a slight deviation from our general rule, but still without departing from its spirit.

The great bulk of the collection consisted of English coins, commencing with Egbert the first, sole, or rather chief monarch. There were moreover some very good specimens of the coinages of Scotland and Ireland, three fine early British coins in gold, and some choice medals; but no classical or foreign coins, nor any of the numerous varieties from the Regal or Ecclesiastical mints of the English Heptarchy.

The series prior to the Norman Conquest, was not so complete as to varieties of type as perhaps might have been expected, or as exists in some other private Cabinets of the present day. The collection subsequent to the Conquest was much more ample and rich. The gold series is probably surpassed, both in variety and excellence, by one or two other collections in private hands; but the silver, in which lay the chief strength of the Cabinet, was, as a whole, quite unrivalled in regard to condition. In the whole sale there was hardly a single inferior coin in this metal, while very many specimens had the reputation, and we believe justly, of being the first of their class. Condition, in fact, was the grand feature of the Cabinet. It contained throughout little that was unique, or not before known, but was remarkable for an extraordinary number of specimens of types, for the most part abundantly familiar, but not to be found elsewhere in such high preservation.

The series of patterns, though we believe it to be less extensive, as a whole, than that in at least one other Cabinet, was highly remarkable for beauty. It comprised an exquisite specimen of the celebrated Petition Crown, by Thomas Simon, with others of his works; the series of patterns for the Commonwealth money, by Ramage and Blondeau (of which we believe only three entire sets



exist in private Cabinets, and of these, two were completed from the present one), with many by Briot, Rawlins, and more recent artists. The collection of patterns for the early copper coinage was perhaps the richest in any collection, except that in the British Museum.

A large proportion of the best pieces in the collection were procured by Colonel Durrant at the sale of the Tyssen Cabinet in 1802; and at the dispersion of the Hollis, Dimsdale, and Trattle Collections, much of the choicest of their contents came into his possession.

The public sale of such a Cabinet of course attracted nearly every collector of note to the rooms of Messrs. Sotheby and Wilkinson, and, as might be expected, the competition ran throughout very high. The whole amount of the sale was £3,405 13s. 6d., a sum which we believe to be equal to the cost of the collection to its late proprietor, notwithstanding a considerable loss on the gold, and especially on the Anglo-Gallic coins, which latter, it is well known, have of late years become much more easily procurable than they were formerly. This depreciation was however compensated by the increased value of the silver, of which a remarkable instance may be given in a set of Oliver's money, consisting of the crown, half-crown, shilling, and ninepence. These four pieces were bought by Colonel Durrant, in one lot, at the sale of Tyssen's Duplicates, in December 1802, for *four guineas*, and now, when sold separately, produced no less a sum than £25 17s. 6d. It is however hardly necessary to caution our readers, that the prices frequently given at the public sale of well-known collections, like that of which we are writing, are by no means a fair criterion of the average marketable value of the coins under ordinary circumstances; and for that reason, as well as from the motive which we stated at the outset of our remarks, we refrain from giving any list of the sums produced by the more remarkable pieces. Such a list would only mislead the uninstructed; to the initiated it would be of little utility; while to the designing and the knave it would give facilities for extortion. Every dealer in London knows full well that prices are frequently given at public sales, the half of which he would find it utterly impossible to obtain for the identical piece in the regular way of business.

HALFPENCE OF GEORGE II.—The following is from the Northampton Mercury of December 28th, 1730.

*"London, December 24th, 1730.*

*"A few days past have appear'd some new half-pence of King George II. in which, by some great error, the R in Georgius is omitted."*

And in the same paper another paragraph appears, stating that

"An effectual stop is put to the going of the counterfeit half-pence made of the base metal, which have gone so current throughout this realm for several years last past, which has been occasioned by the makers delivering out six shillings worth of halfpence, for five shillings in silver, so that both town and country is full of the same."

E. P.

ANGEL OF HENRY THE 7<sup>TH</sup>, WITH THE LEGEND OF THE NOBLE.—Sir,—Among the French pieces in a lot of gold coins, lately found in this neighbourhood, were a few angels of Henry VIII., and on looking them over I noticed one which I do not find mentioned in your Numismatic Manual, and therefore take the liberty of annexing the description, and requesting your opinion as to its rarity.

The R presents what I presume to be the particularity of this piece, which has the ship with the usual cross for a mast, whereon is suspended the shield of arms, above which the letter N and a Rose, the mint mark on both sides, a thistle, and the legend IHC. AVT. TRANSIES. PE. MEDIV. ILLOR. IB. instead of PER CRUCEM, etc.; each of these words is separated by a small rose.

I should say that this piece is of Henry VII., it not having the numerals VIII., as are generally found on those of his successor.

I am not able to state exactly if this coin was found with others about four miles from this, in an old house in the country, or if it was found in the harbour of this place, where, in course of deepening, several Portuguese pieces were also found about a fortnight since.

ALFRED STUBBS.

*Boulogne-sur-mer, 12th May, 1847.*

[The legend of this coin is remarkable, being that of the noble. Our correspondent appears to be right in assuming it to be of Henry VII. There was a similar piece in the Durrant sale, but from the price it brought, it does not appear to be highly valued. Allowance however must be made for the caprice of collectors.—ED. N. C.]

BIRMINGHAM FORGERIES OF TURKISH MONEY.—The following appeared in the Times Police Report of September 16th:—

"The Police have received information that the Turkish Government have discovered that during the last three or four years immense quantities of counterfeit piastres have been circulated in the Turkish dominions. The amount of spurious coin thus introduced is said not to fall far short of 100,000*l*. The Turkish authorities having at last obtained such a clue to the offenders as to induce them to believe that the manufactory of false piastres was at Birmingham, carried on by a person named Darwen, in



conjunction with others, made application to the British Government, and the result was that the detective police were instructed to take the matter in hand. After much patient inquiry they succeeded in procuring such an amount of evidence against Darwen as has led to his commitment at Birmingham recently."

It is to be hoped that these investigations will be rigorously pursued by the proper authorities. The result will probably be the discovery of a manufactory of spurious gold pagodas and other imitations of moneys current in the East Indies, of which we have often seen specimens.—ED. N. C.

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## CORRESPONDENCE.

- B.—The “New Edition of Ruding” was, we believe, published originally in Five-shilling Parts, but it is now to be had at a much lower price. The first volume was *re-printed almost verbatim*, and must have wofully disappointed the subscribers. The second contains many corrections, and has, besides, a most ample and useful Index, compiled by the editor of the latter portion of this edition.
- G. S., York.—Pinkerton’s “Essay on Medals,” will always be read for amusement; but it is full of egregious blunders, and is disfigured by the peculiar style and manner of the writer. Some of the coins engraved are notoriously false ones; nevertheless, the book will continue to have readers. All the coins mentioned by G. S. are very common, and will be found, with varieties of the same type, in the second volume of Banduri.
- N.—The piece engraved in “*Ancient Coins of Cities and Princes*,” plate xxii. No. 2, is, there cannot be a doubt, of one of the princes or chiefs of the Attrebatii. We have lately seen an example of very similar type which was also found in Hampshire.
- A. C.—A coin of Berœa. These pieces are very common, but of some interest. A specimen is engraved in the “Numismatic Illustrations of the New Testament.” A dealer will procure you a genuine coin of Ephesus. The coin of Syria in *Genere* is not uncommon.
- Messrs. Sotheby and Company have announced for sale, in the ensuing Spring, the Pembroke collection of Coins, described in the well-known volume entitled—“*Numismata Antiqua, in tres partes divisa. Collegit olim et æri incidi vivens curavit Thomas Pembrochiæ et Montis Gomerici Comes. Prelo demum mandabantur, A.D. MDCCXLVI.*”
- G. H.—Our business is to chronicle facts relating to Numismatic Science, and not to notice the dishonest practices of the covetous. We believe it needs no remark of ours to make known the fact, that in the recent sale of a somewhat extensive cabinet of Coins were found many pieces that had been missed at public sales, coins in inferior preservation having been substituted. But this is not all; *the collector had the audacity to record the dishonest exchange in a catalogue kept by himself, and left behind him at his death!* Will the executors publish that catalogue? It would be a great literary curiosity.
- G. W.—The coin discovered in the foundation of a temple in Ceylon, is of *Sri mat Sâhasa Malla*, king of that Island, A.D. 1205. See the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vi. p. 298.









9. G.



14. S.



15. S.



12. B.



13. S.



10. G.



11. G.



16. S.







1. S.



2. S.



3. S.



4. G.



5. G.



6. S.



7. S.

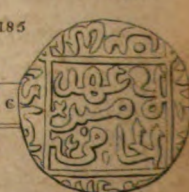
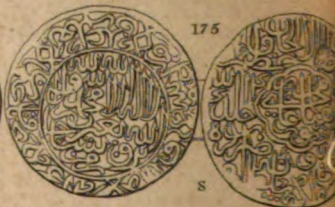
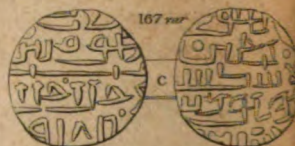


8. C.











## XII.

### COINS OF THE PATÁN, AFGHÁN OR GHORÍ SULTANS OF HINDÚSTÁN (DELHÍ).

(Continued from page 143.)

#### TWENTY-EIGHTH KING (A.H. 817—824; A.D. 1414—1421).

Khizr Khán's accession to the dignity of ruler of the imperial city and the small tract now subject to it, in adding thereto his own governmental provinces of the Punjáb, had the effect of again increasing the importance of the empire of the metropolis. Khizr having accepted service under Timúr, and having held his government of Multán, etc., from that conqueror, continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the dynasty of the Moghul after he had himself obtained possession of the capital. The new viceroy was enabled to assert a sway much more extended than could have been expected from the unsatisfactory state to which the monarchy of Delhí had been reduced consequent upon the inroad of Timúr; and his power, though unequal, was sufficiently recognised according to Indian notions of government. At his death, he was in a condition to secure the peaceful transmission of his honors to his son, Mubárik, who, apparently with the sanction of the nobles of the court, again revived the kingly style.

The following extracts show that Khizr Khán, in declining to assume the title of sultan, refrained from exercising that first of Oriental privileges of sovereignty, involved in the inscription of his own name on the money of the country.

It would certainly have been satisfactory, in referring to the subjoined assertions of the acknowledgment of Timúr

VOL. X.

Y



and his successor, to have been able to have cited direct numismatic proof of the Moghul supremacy in Hindústán: however, it is probable that Khizr Khán did not needlessly multiply such records of his own subservience.

“He refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Timúr, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck and the Khutba to be read. After the death of Timúr, the Khutba was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh Mírza; to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand.”—*Briggs' Ferishtah*, vol. i. page 508.

“Khizr Khán, out of gratitude to his benefactor, Timúr, did not assume the title of sultan, but continued to have the Khotbah read in the name of that monarch, contenting himself with being styled Ayáut Aála, or The Most High in Dignity. At the death of Timúr, the Khotbah was read in the name of his successor, Sháh Rokh, concluding with a prayer for the prosperity of Khizr Khán.”—*Gladwin's Ayin i Akberi*.

#### TWENTY-NINTH KING (A.H. 824—839; A.D. 1421—1435).

The annals of the period during which the now re-established throne of Delhi was filled by Muaz ud din Mubárik, are distinguished by a little varying succession of efforts on the part of the sovereign to repress the continual revolts of his subjects: prominent among these is to be noticed the pertinacious and daring opposition of Jusserut Gukka, who, during the thirteen years of Mubárik's reign, appeared in arms and fought well contested campaigns no less than six several times. The rebellion of Foulád is also noticeable, not so much on account of its own intrinsic importance as from the disastrous results which attended the introduction of the Moghul auxiliaries of Ali, the governor of Kábul on the part of Sháh Rokh, whose aid was invoked by Foulád as a means of extricating himself from

his own difficulties. Mubárik was assassinated in 839, by a band of Hindús employed for that purpose by his own vizir.

152.—<sup>25</sup>

153.—Copper. 172 grs.

*Obv.*—Area مبارک شاد

*Marg.*—سلطان ضربت بحضرت دهلي

R.—<sup>۸۳</sup>—نایب امیر المومنین

154.—Copper. 80 grs.

*Obv.*—سلطان مبارک شاد

R.—<sup>۸۳۲</sup>—دارالملک دهلي

155.—Copper. 40 grs.

*Obv.*—مبارک شاد

R.— - - بحضرت

<sup>25</sup> The electrotype cast of the coin figured as No. 152, was placed in the hands of the engraver before an opportunity was afforded of submitting it to any critical examination, under the impression that the original was an unquestionable coin of Muaz ud din Mubárik. On a closer scrutiny, the name of the mint city (the capital of eastern Bengal), and the surviving word of the date (\*50), are found to render this assignment somewhat dubious; over and above this difficulty, the question as to whom the coin really does belong, is not readily soluble by the evidence of written history, inasmuch as the kingdom of Bengal is stated to have been held by Hájí Iliás from 744 to 760 (Stewart, pp. 83, 86; Briggs, vol. iv. p. 331); and from 830 to 862, by Nasir Sháh (Stewart, p. 100); or, according to Ferishtah, by Yúsun, from 849 to 866 (Briggs, vol. iv. p. 339). Under these circumstances, the bare description of the coin is appended without further comment.

Silver. 162 grs. U. (*Dr. Swiney*).

*Obv.*—السلطان الاعظم معز (؟ فخر) الدنيا والدين ابو المظفر  
مبارك شاه السلطان

R.—Area يمين الخليفة ناصر امير المومنين

*Marg.*—سكه بجزرة جلال سناركانو سنه خمسين و— \*

At the royal capital, Sunargaon, year \* 50.



## THIRTIETH KING (A.H. 839—849; A.D. 1435—1444).

On the death of Mubárik, the vizir, assassin of that monarch, elevated as his puppet king, Mohammed bin Feríd, a grandson of Khizr Khán. The first cares of the minister were directed to engrossing the various governmental posts for his own creatures: this purpose, too little concealed, of necessity created dissatisfaction and distrust, and speedily resulted in a very general insurrection; and, within a brief period of the apparent full success of his iniquity, the Hindú vizir found his power limited to the walls of the citadel of the metropolis, in which he was now closely besieged. The sultan, too, his protégé, was also discovered to be seeking an opportunity of joining the adverse party. In this crisis, the vizir determined upon the murder of the sultan; but the latter receiving timely intimation of the design, was able to overpower the vizir's band with a well-prepared guard, and thus he met the fate he designed for his lord. Not long after this, the emperor began to give himself up to dissolute conduct, and, in consequence, the affairs of the kingdom quickly shewed the want of a master's hand. Added to the internal disorganisation, the empire suffered from the attacks of foreign enemies. Ibrahim of Jánpúr possessed himself of several districts bordering on his own dominions, and Mahmúd Khiljí of Malwa went so far as to make an attempt on the capital. To extricate himself from this pressing difficulty, the sultan called in the aid of one who was destined to play a prominent part in the history of his day, Behlól Lodí, at this time nominal governor, though virtual master of the dependencies of Lahore and Sirhind. By his assistance, the king was relieved from his immediate danger, and the protecting subject was dignified with the title of Khán Khánán

(first of the nobles). Behlól's next appearance is in a somewhat altered character, as besieger of Delhí itself, and the adversary of the monarch he had lately saved: he was not however successful. Mohammed died in 849.

156.—Copper and silver mixed. 142 grs. Date 846.<sup>26</sup>

*Obv.*—سلطان محمد شاه بن فرید شاه بحضرت دهلي

*R.*—الحلیفه امیر المومنین خلعت خلافتہ ۸۴۶

157.—Copper. 85 grs. Date 842.<sup>27</sup>

*Obv.*—محمد شاه سلطانی

*R.*—دار الملک دهلي ۸۴۲

158.—Copper. 33½ grs.

*Obv.*—محمد شاه

*R.*—بحضرت دهلي

### THIRTY-FIRST KING (A.H. 849—854; A.D. 1444—1450).

The Alá ud din bin Mohammed of the historians, who is entitled Alem Sháh on his own coins, succeeded his father. His accession was not, however, recognised by Behlól Lodí, whose obedience the new sultan was in no position to enforce. The first acts of the public life of this prince,

<sup>26</sup> The silver coin (No. D.CC.XXVII., page 545) attributed by Marsden to this sultan, does not seem to be correctly assigned. The Devanágri inscription on the obverse, connects the piece most distinctly with the type of money introduced about a century later by Shir Sháh, who is known to have remodelled the coinage, and whose style of coins is seen to be closely followed by his immediate successors, both in Hindústán and Bengal. The absence of the terms of filiation observable on the larger specimens of the undoubted coinage of Mohammed bin Feríd, in itself is sufficient to decide that the coin in question did not issue from his mint.

<sup>27</sup> Other coins of this type are dated, 843, 844, 847, 849 A.H.



clearly manifested to his subjects that they had little to expect either from his intellect or his conduct. In 851, Behlól Lodí made a second attempt on the city of Delhí, but with as little success as before; and shortly afterwards the sultan determined upon the unwise measure of removing his capital to Budaon: his motives for this change do not seem very obvious, as it was effected in the face of the advice of his whole court. It would appear as if he hoped for some fancied security which he did not feel at Delhí, to which the boundaries of so many adverse chiefs had attained a most inconvenient proximity. To complete his own ruin, the sultan allowed himself to be persuaded to disgrace his vizir, who, escaping to Delhí, quickly introduced the powerful Behlól Lodí, who at once, on becoming master of the capital, assumed the title of sultan;<sup>28</sup> somewhat strangely, however, retaining Alem Sháh's name in the Khutba. Not long after this, Alem Sháh offered to concede the empire to Behlól, on condition of being permitted to reside in peace at Budaon: no difficulty was made in taking advantage of this proposal; and from this time Behlól is reported to have rejected the name of Alem Sháh from the public prayers, and the latter was allowed to enjoy his insignificance undisturbed till his death in 883.

159. — Silver and copper. 146 grs. Date 853. R.

*Obv.* — سلطان عالمشاه بن محمد شاه

Sultan Alem Sháh, son of Mohammed Sháh.

*R.* — الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلد خلافته ٨٥٣

The Khalif, commander of the faithful. May his khalifat endure. 853.

<sup>28</sup> Behlól's actual accession is fixed, in the History of the Afghans, edited by Dorn, at 17th Rubí ul Awul, 855. Vide page 46. Edit. O. T. Fund.

160.—Copper. 66 grs. Date 853. R.

*Obv.*—عالمشاه سلطان

R.—٨٥٣ دارالملک دہلی

161.—Copper. 46 grs. R.

*Obv.*—سلطان عالمشاه بن محمد شاه بجھرت دہلی

R.— \* \* \* الخليفة امير المؤمنين

One coin similar to No. 163 bears the figure 4 as the unit numeral of the date.

### THIRTY-SECOND KING (A.H. 854—894; A.D. 1450—1488).

The vigorous rule of the Afghan Behlól Lodi offers a strong contrast to the inane weakness of the sway of the two Syuds who preceded him. His lengthened supremacy of thirty-eight years, however, affords but little of variety to dilate upon. The principal characteristics of his domination being defined in the successful and energetic subjection of his local governors, and a prolonged war, marked by the utmost determination on both sides, with the kings of Jánpúr: for a long time neither one party nor the other can be said to have obtained any very decided advantage, such as might have been expected to result from the great efforts made by both. The balance generally remained in favour of the monarch of Delhi; and at length, in the year 983, after a twenty-six years' war, he finally re-annexed the kingdom of Jánpúr to his own empire. It is recorded of this sultan, that, unlike Eastern monarchs in general, he was no respecter of pomps and ceremonies, remarking, "that it was enough for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a vain parade of royalty."



162.—Silver (impure). 142 grs. C.

*Obv.*—المتوكل الرحمن بهلول شاه سلطان بجضرت دهلي

The confiding-in-God, Behlól Sháh, the sultan.

R.—\* \* r في زمن امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

In the time of the commander of the faithful. May his khalifat endure. \* \* 2.

163.—Silver and copper. 52 grs.

*Obv.*—بھلول شاه سلطان بجضرت دهلي

R.—الخليفة امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته.

164.—Copper. 85 grs. Date 855.

*Obv.*—بھلول شاه سلطان

R.—٨٥٥ دار الملك دهلي

165.—Copper. 67 grs. Date 886.

*Obv.*—Legend similar to No. 164.

R.—٨٨٦ - - - الخليفة

166.—Copper.

*Obv.*—Centre السلطان بهلول شاه *Marg.*—

R.—٨٧٧ نايب امير المؤمنين

Dated coins of Behlól range from A.H. 855 to 893.

THIRTY-THIRD KING (A.H. 889—923; A.D. 1488—1517).

Some time before his decease, Behlól had nominated as his successor his son Nizám, who, accordingly, though not without opposition, ascended the imperial musnud under the title of Sekunder Sháh. In the division of his dominions in 883, the emperor had assigned the kingdom of of Jánpúr to his son Barbek. On attaining the supreme sovereignty, Sekunder demanded the nominal allegiance of his brother in the preliminary mention of his own name, in the public prayers recited in the portion of the country

over which Barbek ruled: this being refused, it was found necessary to compel its concession by force of arms. In the action which ensued, Barbek was worsted, but was subsequently forgiven, and re-instated in his government. During the succeeding years, the sultan was occupied in the subjection of Sherif, which was effected in the capture of his stronghold Biana, and in the suppression of two somewhat formidable insurrections in Jánpúr and Oud. In 897, Sekunder extended his conquests over the whole of Behar, dispossessing Hussen, the last of the regal line of the Sherkí monarchs, who was forced to take refuge with Alá, king of Bengal: with this last the sultan of Delhí came to a satisfactory understanding, involving a mutual recognition of boundaries, etc. In 909, the emperor, for the first time, fixed his residence at Agrah, which henceforth was to supersede Delhí as the metropolis of Hindústán. Sekunder's rule was disgraced by an unusual display of bigotry, evidenced principally in a persevering destruction of Hindú temples, on the sites of which were raised Moslem mosques.

167.—Copper. 144 grs. Date A.H. 906. (Other dated coins have 896, 903, 906, and 918 )

*Obv.*—

المتوكل الرحمن سكندر شاه بهلول شاه سلطان بخصرت دهلي

*R.*—

في زمن امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته ٩٠٦

168.—Copper. 53 grs.

*Obv.*—المتوكل الرحمن سكندر شاه بهلول شاه

*R.*—امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته \* \*

THIRTY-FOURTH KING (A.H. 923—937; A.D. 1517—1530).

Ibráhím succeeded his father Sekunder; from the very commencement of his reign his arrogance disgusted the

VOL. X.

Z



nobles of his own tribe of Lodí, who speedily sought to reduce his power by placing his brother, Jellál, on the throne of the kingdom of Jánpúr. Having compassed this purpose, however, some doubt arose as to the wisdom of their own act, and hence an attempt was made to weaken Jellál by the withdrawal of several Amrahs who had joined his standard. Jellál, detecting this design, determined upon active measures to secure himself; he therefore collected his forces and advanced to Kálpí, assuming the style of sultan, with the title of Jellál ud din. He next entered into negotiations with Azim Humáyún, who held Kalinjer for Ibráhím, and at length induced him to desert the cause of the emperor. Azim Humáyún failed at the time of need, and Jellál was reduced to a position of much difficulty, from which however he had a favourable opportunity of extricating himself, by the success of a sudden march upon Agrah, which he found almost undefended; but from some strange infatuation, he allowed himself to be deluded into treating with the governor of the city, and on the advance of Ibráhím, he was compelled to flee to Guálír, where he received a temporary shelter; he was, ultimately, after various adventures and escapes, captured and put to death.

The alarm excited by the unrestrained cruelties resulting from the distrustful disposition of the sultan, led to numerous other rebellions: among the rest, Deria Khán, viceroy of Behar, openly disclaimed allegiance; and his son, Mohammed, who succeeded him shortly after the commencement of the revolt, caused the Khutba to be read, and coin to be struck in his own name.<sup>30</sup> Daulat Lodí, the governor of part of the dependencies of Lahore, also rebelled, and solicited the protection of Báber, who had

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<sup>30</sup> Ayin i Akberi.

already, in 930 A.H., taken possession of Lahore itself. Báber now sent an expedition under Alá, the brother of Ibráhím, but in the engagement which ensued, the army of the Moghuls was defeated with great slaughter. This was followed by the advance of Báber in person, and on the 7th of Rajab, 932, on the celebrated battle field of Paniput, Ibráhím, after an individually well-contested, though ill-directed action, lost his kingdom and his life.

169.—Copper. 83 grs. R.

*Obv.*—المتوكل الرحمن ابراهيم شاه سكندر شاه سلطان

R.—في زمن امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

170.—Copper. 37 grs. R.

*Obv.*—ابراهيم شاه سلطان

R.—امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته

171.—Copper. 42 grs. R. Date 926.

*Obv.*—\* \* ابراهيم شاه سكندر

R.—امير المؤمنين خلدت خلافته ٩٢٦

### THE MOGHUL CONQUEST.

The narrative of the chequered adventures of Báber and his son Humáyún is more pertinent to general history than a subject of peculiar import, in the present notices of the local succession of the Patán dynasty of Hindústán. It may, therefore, be sufficient to indicate more concisely than usual, the dates of the several prominent occurrences of the Indian reigns of these two monarchs.

Báber's sway, after his occupation of the cities of Delhí and Agrah, was not undisputed, but he may be said generally to have triumphed over all opposition: he died, in full posses-



sion of the empire of Hindústán, on 5th Jumád ul Awul, 936 A.H., and was succeeded by his son, Nasír ud din Humáyún. In 946, Hindal Mirza, another son of Báber, revolted; and shortly afterwards, Kámrán, the brother who held Kábul, followed his example, marching to Delhí, where he was met by Hindal, who persuaded him to join forces, and in company they advanced towards Agrah; but disagreeing by the way, Hindal, finding himself the weaker, fled, leaving Kamran to assume the imperial ensigns on his arrival at the capital. Humáyún was at this time engaged in a war with Shír Khán, who held a considerable portion of Bengal and Behar. On the 6th Safar, 946, Humáyún was surprised by his wily adversary, by whom he was totally routed, and his whole army destroyed. Humáyún himself, escaping with the utmost difficulty, joined his brothers at Agrah, who saw their common danger in the increasing power of Shír. For six months, consultations and disputes continued, which ended in the departure of Kámrán towards Kábul;<sup>31</sup> to this, succeeded the advance of Shír (now Shír Sháh); and Humáyún, after a temporary advantage, was finally defeated, in Muharrim, 947, the victor possessing himself of the capital. From this time until his triumphant re-conquest of his Indian empire in

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<sup>31</sup> Kámrán's coins are extant. The following is a description of a specimen in the East India Company's Collection. Kábul 947.

Silver. 71 grs.

*Obv.*—Area (diamond shaped) محمد كامران پادشاه غازی

*Marg.*—الملك السلطان الاعظم النجاشي خلد الله تعالى ملكه و

سلطانه ضرب كابل سنه ٩٤٧

*R.*—Circular area, the usual short symbol.

*Marg.*—ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان العون علي المرتضي

962, Humáyún was fated to be a wanderer: the tale of his sufferings, his escapes, his varied fortunes, and his prominent heroism, developed during this interval, forms a romance of kingly life but seldom equalled.

## BABER.

172.—Silver. 71 5 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—Centre ظهر الدين محمد بابر پادشاه  
Zehír ud din Mohammed Baber Padshah.

*Marg.*—(worn) \* \* السلطان الأعظم

*R.*—Centre لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*Marg.*—علي المرتضى - - - -

\* Ulí, the chosen!

173.—A second silver coin of Baber (E. I. Company's Cabinet), somewhat similar to the above, has the word غازي at the end of the inscription on the obverse area, in addition to the legend detailed under No. 172.

On the obverse margin is to be seen—الاعظم خاقان

*R. Area.*—As in the last coin.

*Marg.*—(Legible) \* العون علي المرتضى

## HUMAYUN.

174.—Gold. 13 grs. R.

*Obv.*—لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*R.*—محمد همايون پادشاه غازي خلد الله ملكه

Mohammed Hamáyun Padshah Gházi. May God prolong his reign.

175.—Silver. 71 grs. R.

*Obv.*—Centre محمد همايون غازي

Mohammed Humáyun Gházi.



*Marg.*—الملك الأمير السلطان الاعظم النجافان خلد الله تعالى  
ملكه و سلطانه ضرب اكره سنه ٩٤٤

The king, the amír, the most mighty sultan, the khákán.  
May Almighty God prolong his dominion and sovereignty.  
Struck at Agrah, year 944.

R.—Centre

لااله الاالله محمد رسول الله الله يرزق من يشاء بغير حساب  
There is no god but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God.  
God is bountiful unto whom he pleaseth, without measure.

*Marg.*—بصدق ابا بكر بعدل عمر بحياتي عثمان بعلم علي رضي الله عنه  
By the truth of Abubekir, by the justice of Umur, by the  
modesty of Usmán, by the wisdom of Alí, may God  
reward him.

176.—Another silver coin, 71 grs., struck at Agra, is dated 945.  
A variety, with a nearly square area, has the date 952; the  
name of the place of mintage is obliterated.

A fourth coin of the type here described, which is un-  
fortunately wanting in both date and place of mintage, has  
the stamp or currency mark of Kamran; of this impression  
the following words are legible:—

عدل كامران پاد شاه غـ

Another silver coin of Humáyun (71 grains), has the  
area being circular, as in the specimen engraved, the le-  
gend itself is confined to the usual short symbol. The  
margins are much worn, but apparently vary slightly in  
their legends from those of the above coins. There are  
traces of the figures 937.

THIRTY-SIXTH KING (A.H. 947—952; A.D. 1540—1545).

Shír Sháh had already assumed the title of *Sháh* on his  
permanent subjection of Bengal; his entrance into Agrah,

therefore, had to be signalised by no new accession of honorary designation. On attaining the supreme power in Hindústán, Shir's attention was directed to the due organisation of his kingdom in the more complete reduction of the Moghul governors of provinces, and the conquest of neighbouring states. In 948, he possessed himself of Malwa; in 949, he reduced the fort of Raisín, treacherously massacring the garrison; in 951, he invaded and overran Marwar. His next exploit was the capture of Chitor, and his last operation the siege of Kalinjer, where he was killed by the explosion of a magazine in his own trenches, surviving only long enough to receive the report of victory, for which he had still sufficient life left to exclaim, "Thanks be to Almighty God." His rule was able and energetic, but deceitful. Of works of lasting value to his country, he is famed for having constructed a high road in extent *four* months' journey, from Bengal to Rohtas near the Indus. This undertaking was made complete by the caravanserais at each stage, and the excavation of wells at the distance of each mile and a half, the whole being planted with trees to afford shade to the traveller.

177.—Gold. 167 grs. U.

Obv.—السلطان العادل      لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله  
There is no god but God, Mohammed is the apostle of God. The just sovereign.

R.—सा सर मही १५७      شیر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملك  
Shir Sháh, the sultan. May God prolong his reign. 947.  
*Sā Sār Sāhí.*

178.—Silver. 176 grs. Shirgurb, (9)49 A.H. (*Prinsep Coll.*)<sup>32</sup>

Obv.—Square area الله محمد رسول الله

<sup>32</sup> The silver coin of a similar type to the above, described by Marsden under No. DCC.XXIX., as being dated 945, is not so dated.



*Marg.*—ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان ذي النورين<sup>33</sup> على المرتضى

*R.*—*Square area* شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

*Marg.*—श्री सेर साही

فرید الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر ضرب شیرکده ۹۴۹

179.—Silver. 175 grs. C.

*Obv.*—Centre لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*Marg.*—ابابكر عمر عثمان على السلطان العادل

Abábekir, Umur, Usmán, Ulí. The just sovereign.

*R.*—Centre شیر شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه ۹۴۹  
Shir Sháh, the sultan. May God perpetuate his dominion  
and sovereignty. 949.

*Marg.*—श्री सेर साही فرید الدنیا الدین ابوالمظفر جهانپناه  
Feríd ud dunia u ud din, Abul Muzafar, Asylum of the  
world. Sri Ser Sáhí.

180.—Silver. 174 grs.

Obverse area and margin similar to No. 179.

*R.*—Centre شیر شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

*Marg.*—۹۵۲ श्री सेर साही فرید الدنیا والدین ابوالمظفر

in the only specimen of the kind in *his* cabinet in the British Museum. Marsden was unable to detect the Hindí inscription on the margin of the reverse of this medal, which, with the aid of a better specimen, such as the one now described, is clearly recognisable.

Marsden's No. DCC.XXXVII. is seen from the original coin to have been struck at گوالیر Guálír, and not at Korah.

<sup>33</sup> ذي النورين Possessor of two lights, in reference to his marriage with two daughters of the prophet.

181.—Silver. 171.5 grs. C. (Date on a similar coin, 948.)

Obverse square area, as in gold coin No. 177.

Marg.—عمر - عثمان - علي - ابوبكر

R.—Square area ٩٤٩ شير شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه

श्री सेर साही

Marg.—ابوالمظفر والدين فريد الدنيا

182.—Silver. 175 grs. C.

The obverse square area contains the usual short symbol.

Marg.—عمر الخطاب - علي المرتضى - ابابكر الصديق

R.—Square area السلطان شير شاه خلد الله ملكه

श्री सेर सह

Marg.—فريد الدين و الدنيا ابوالمظفر ضرب شير كده - -

183.—Silver. 175 grs. Struck at Kālpī.

Obv.—Area لاله الا الله محمد رسول الله ضرب كالبي

R.—Area شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

Margins worn.

184.—Copper. 310 grs.

Obv.—في عهد الامير الحامي فريد الدين الدنان ٩٥١

R.—ابو المظفر شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

185.—Copper. 315 grs. Agrah, A.H. 950.

Obv.—Area في عهد الامير الحامي ٩٥٠

Marg.—السلطان العادل فريد الدين والدنيا

R.—Area شير شاه سلطان ضرب اگره

Marg.—ابو المظفر خلد الله

186.—Copper. 316 grs.

Obv.—Square area سلطان شير شاه خلد الله

Marg.—ملكه وسلطنه الله \* \*

R.—Square area في عهد الميرة الحامي ٩٥١

Marg.—الله \* \*

<sup>34</sup> The eloquent.

<sup>35</sup> Sic.



187.—Copper 310 grs. Similar to 186. ضرب گوالیر Guálíer.

188.—Copper. 151 grs.

*Obv.*—سلطان العادل ابو المظفر شیر شاه سلطان

*R.*— \* خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه

189.—Copper. 43 grs.

*Obv.*— خليفه الزمان السلطان

*R.*—۹۴۸ العادل شیر شاه سلطان

### THIRTY-SEVENTH KING (A.H. 959—969; A.D. 1545—1553).

Adil Khán, the eldest son, was nominated successor of his father, Shir Sháh. Jellál Khán, the younger brother, however, taking advantage of his absence from the capital at the time of the death of the father, obtained possession of the imperial dignity under the title of Islám Sháh; and not long afterwards, Adil made a formal resignation of his birthright, and saluted Islám Sháh as king, simultaneously accepting, for his own portion, the Jaghir of Bíána; but soon having cause to distrust the good faith of his brother, Adil fled to Mewat and openly revolted. This effort was quickly crushed by the sultan, and Adil took refuge in Behar, where all traces of his eventual fate are lost. This outbreak was followed by a second rebellion in the Punjáb, under Azim Humáyún, which was for the time subdued by the defeat of the insurgents. The rest of the reign of Islám Sháh was disturbed by repeated revolts, and during this latter period he had no less than three remarkable escapes from assassination. He died in 960 A.H.

190.—Silver. 168 grs. C.

*Obv.*—Square area - لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*Marg.*—<sup>35</sup>ابابكر الصديق عمر الفاروق عثمان العون علي المرتضي  
Abúbekir the true, Umur the discerning, Usmán the de-  
fender, Ulí the chosen.

*R.*—*Marg.*

\* ٢٧٧ جلال الدنيا و الدين ابوالمظفر السلطان العادل  
Jellal ud dunia wa ud din Abúl Muzafar, the just sovereign.

*Area.*—٩٥٢ اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

श्री इसलाम साहि

Islám Sháh, son of Shír Sháh the sultan. May God pro-  
long his reign.

191.—Silver. 173 grs. (thick coin). C.

*Obv.*—*Area* لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*Marg.*— - - ابابكر وعمر وعثمان علي ضرب

*R.*—*Marg.* ٩٥٢ السلطان العادل ابوالمظفر - - ين والدنيا سنه

*Area.*—اسلام شاه ابن شير شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه

श्री इसलाम सह

192.—Copper. 315 grs.

*Obv.*—في عهد الامير الجامي \* \* د الدين الدنان

*R.*—ابوالمظفر اسلام شاه سلطان بن شير شاه خلد الله ملكه

193.—Copper. 38 grs.

*Obv.*—اسلام شاه شير شاه سلطان

*R.*—خليفه الزمان العادل

<sup>35</sup> The العون (The Defender, Patron, also *Servant*) is a somewhat doubtful reading, as on many coins there seems to be a dot over the third letter, making it الغون. Marsden has given this word as الغون, but the best cut specimens of Islám's mintage display the ع or غ in its perfect shape. Islám's coins are very uncertain in their orthography in other respects, the ابن being frequently written بن, and the साही Shahí, being used indiscriminately with साहि Shahí.

The same uncertain method of expressing the Devanagrí equivalent of the Persian name of شيرشاه is also to be seen in its full force on the coins of that prince.



## THIRTY-EIGHTH, THIRTY-NINTH, AND FORTIETH KINGS.

The historical events of the partial reigns of the three last of the Patán kings of the Delhí line, are so interwoven with one another, that it may be appropriate to notice them together. On Islám Sháh's death, his son, Firúz Khán, a boy of twelve years of age, was for the moment elevated to the throne of his father; but he was almost immediately murdered by Mubariz Khán, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who usurped the sovereignty, entitling himself Mohammed Adil Sháh. Equally infamous and ignorant, the self-elected king entrusted the direction of his kingdom to one Himú (a Hindú shopkeeper); fortunately the individual thus selected was as capable, as he subsequently proved himself courageous, and for a time upheld the monarch he served. The king's inconsistency in resuming jaghirs and governments from the holders and conferring them upon others, apparently without any object but to show his power so to do, led to an attack on his person in open court, from which, flight but narrowly saved him. In 961, a rebellion was organised, which obliged the monarch to march against the insurgents in person, when he attacked and routed them near Chunar. Shortly after this, Ibráhim Súr, Adil's cousin and brother-in-law, revolted, and took possession of Delhí and Agrah, obliging Adil to confine himself to the eastern portions of his dominions; no sooner, however, had Ibráhim seated himself on his newly erected throne, than another competitor started up in the person of Ahmed, a nephew of Shír Sháh, who, on this occasion, took the name of Sekunder Sháh, and defeating Ibráhim, succeeded to his lately acquired territories. In the meantime, Mohammed Khán Guria, governor of Bengal, rebelled against Mohammed Adil, but was eventually vanquished and slain by

Himú; prior to which last action, Humáyún had re-possessed himself of Agrah and Delhí, and thus in acquiring Sekunder's provinces found himself in antagonism with Mohammed Adil. Himú, hearing of the death of Humáyún, which occurred about this time, and leaving his master in safety at Clumar, advanced towards Agrah, which he entered unopposed, and thence proceeded to Delhí, where he overcame Tirdi Beg, the Moghul governor. He next prepared for a march on Lahore, but was met on the plain of Paniput by Behram, the guardian of the young prince Akber, and defeated and slain, after a display of considerable valour. Adil continued to reign in his Eastern dominions till he was killed, in 964, in a battle with Behadur Shah, a pretender to the throne of Bengal.

## MOHAMMED ADIL.

194.—Silver. 174 grs. R.

*Obv.*—Square area لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*R.*—Square area محمد عادل شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه ٩٦١

श्री महमद सह

Mohammed Adil Sháh, sultan. May God prolong his reign. 961. *Srí Mahamad Sah.*

Margins illegible.

195.—Silver. V.R. As No. 194. Date 963.

196.—Copper. 308 grs. V.R.

*Obv.*—ابو المجاهد سلطان محمد شاه خلد الله ملكه

*R.*—في عهد الامير الحائي - - دين والد ٩٦١

## SEKUNDER.

197.—Silver. 175 grs. U.

*Obv.*—Square area لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

*R.*—سلطان سكندر شاه سور - - ٩٦٢

Margins illegible.



198.—Copper. 35 grs. R.

Obv.—سلطان سکندر

R.—سکندر شاه ساطانی

The following account of the Oriental method of coining, as in use at Delhí in the time of Akber, may not be uninteresting, as evidencing the probable practice of the earlier period to which the coins of the present series more immediately refer.

The melter melts the refined plates of metal and casts them into *round* ingots. The zerrab cuts from the round ingots pieces of gold, silver, and copper, of the size of the coin. It is surprising, that in Irán and Turán, they cannot cut these round pieces without an anvil, made on purpose; and in Hindustan, the workman, without any such machine, performs this business with such exactness, that there is not the difference of a single hair. The seal-engraver engraves the dies of coins on steel and such like metals. The sickchy places the round piece of metal between two dies, and, by the strength of the hammerer, both sides are stamped at one stroke.

Rupeeah روپیہ is a silver coin of a round form, in weight  $11\frac{1}{4}$  mashahs. It was first introduced in the time of Shir Khán, and under the present reign it has been revived, and made more pure.  
—*Gladwin's Ayin Akberi.*

IN preference to complicating the text with multitudinous references to similar coins, varying from the specimens described, only in date, it has been deemed advisable to subjoin, in a distinct form, a comprehensive Table, embracing all the annual dates obtainable from a careful examination of the contents of the various cabinets, that have contributed materials for the foregoing review of the moneys of the kings of Delhi.

The numbers printed in larger type refer to the coins which are to be found described at large in the text. The ordinary numerals imply only a general identity in the piece bearing the date, with the coin to which the number itself properly belongs in the preceding detail. It has not been so much an object to make the present summary an exposition of the different extant species of coins, as to indicate, in a connected form, the years capable of citation as those comprised in the reign of certain given monarchs, proved by their coins. The abbreviations, B.M., I.H., M., P., refer to the various collections of the British Museum, the East India House, and the accumulations of Marsden and Prinsep, both of which last are now deposited in our National Museum. Where no such acknowledgment is appended, the examples have been taken from coins in the author's own possession.



## APPENDIX.

In closing this description of the various coins of the Patán kings of Delhi, it may be useful to append a brief *résumé* of the more prominent changes, which an exact examination of the series of their medals has rendered requisite in the list of the accessions of the different sovereigns quoted at the head of this essay. Though some apology is due for the position in which these rectifications appear, yet the present allocation has been the almost necessary result of the mode in which these notes have been written and published; that is to say, in detached portions: the major part of the subject having been undertaken at the moment, by instalments; as the more locally interesting claims on the space of the Journal in which these descriptions were to appear admitted of their publication. Hence, as it was requisite to adopt some distinct groundwork whereon to proceed, the recognised list, and the hitherto received statements of Ferishtah, were accepted in the first instance as safe bases, from which any important divergence was deemed improbable. This expectation will be seen to have been erroneous in the following instances:—

- No. 15 Umur . . . for 716 read 715. See coin 63, and notep. 136.  
 16 Mubarik . . — 717 — 716. ——— 66.<sup>1</sup>  
 17 Khusrú . . — 721 — 720. ——— 74, and cast No. 8.  
 18 Tughlak . . — 721 — 720. ——— 79.  
 24 Sekunder . — 796 — 795. ——— 140, 141, 142.  
 25 Mahmud's death 814 — 815. See note, p. 140.

The last point in this detail has been sufficiently explained in a note at the foot of page 136; but the other discrepancies seem to require a few additional remarks, not so much on account of any difficulty existing in the questions themselves, as from the curious exactitude with which the proposed emendations frequently support one another. The conflicting nature of the historical dates, and the testimony of coins Nos. 66 and 74, formed the subject of notice in their fit place; but the precise nature of the numeral on coin No. 63, having escaped detection at the right moment, necessitated a correction, which will be found in the note to coin No. 140. It now merely remains to direct attention to these consecutive evidences, and to express a conviction, which isolated unsupported medals might not have altogether justified, that the

<sup>1</sup> The date of 716, to be found on this coin, is supported by a like figured date on a similar coin in the East India House Cabinet, and is conclusively confirmed by the *written* inscription of the same date on a silver coin of Mubarik in the British Museum. (See cast No. 6.)

Mohammedan authors, who assign the several dates of 716,<sup>2</sup> 717, and 721,<sup>3</sup> as the epochs of accession of the respective princes noted above, are one and all incorrect, to the extent of having post-dated each of these different events by one year. The writers in question seem to have adhered with sufficient apparent scruple to the correct duration of the reign of each monarch; but by some error in the earlier part of their narrations, they have been led into a series of mistakes, which their tests of accuracy proved insufficient to rectify. Having advanced thus far in the correction of Ferishtah's erroneous dates, and having ante-dated a succession of three kings each by one year, the application of a similar process in favor of the next monarch in order is easily justified; especially as his predecessor, who ascended the throne in the third month of the Mohammedan year, reigned somewhat less than five months: whence it is manifest, that in accepting these last data<sup>4</sup> the elevation of the successor must of necessity be placed in the same year.

This point has been made the subject of separate mention, for the purpose of drawing more direct attention to the question involved in its admission, namely, the value of the figure ٥ which is to be found in the unit place of the annual date on coin No. 79. As long as Ferishtah's dates remained unimpugned, it was imperative to conclude that this numeral was, in its position on this coin, intended to represent a five; as a monarch who was asserted to have attained his throne in 721, and retained it till 725, had obviously no year of his sway which would answer to the employment of a final naught in the notification of the period of issue of any of his coins. Having, however, seen cause to discredit so much of the historian's testimony, it may now be permissible to restore the hitherto questionable figure to its correct place in the list of numerals, and to account it a naught and nothing but a naught.<sup>5</sup>

In arriving at this determination of the functions of the dubious figure, it is requisite, before finally taking leave of this question, to

<sup>2</sup> Assistance in the due assignment of the disputed date of the accession of any given king, is naturally to be sought in the determination of the epoch of the inauguration of his predecessor and the length of his reign. There are discrepancies as to the æra of Alá ud din's enthronement to the amount of one year; or, more correctly speaking, a difference between the citation of the year 695 (*Mirát ul Alem* and *Tubkát Akberi*) and 696 (*Ferishtah*). The duration of his rule is pretty uniformly fixed at 20 years and some months.

<sup>3</sup> The *Tubkát Akberi* gives 720 as the date of the accession of Ghiás ud din Tughlak.

<sup>4</sup> Strange as it may seem, it is to be borne in mind that the dates of the months are often perfectly trustworthy, when the simultaneously appended year is altogether false.

<sup>5</sup> See note to coin No. 74, and coin No. 135.



anticipate a notice pertinent thereto, in its due dynastical order, and to rectify in this place the opinion expressed in regard to the date and circumstances under which the coin (No. 135) bearing the joint names of Fírúz and his son Mohammed was issued: it will be observed that, all doubt having now been removed as to the fact of its true date being "790 A.H.," it can only be looked upon as a medal of the regency of the son, struck during the temporary retirement of the father from the cares of state; and not, as was at one time supposed, a simple medal of the son, coined after his full accession to the undivided throne of Delhí.

Continuing the examination of the various dates pertaining to the sway of the remaining monarchs, it would seem that the error which extended itself to the epochs of the inauguration of four kings in succession, was by some means accommodated in the accurate assignment of the æra of the commencement of the rule of Mohammed bin Tughlak: but again, in the date of the installation of Alá ud din Sekunder Sháh, there recurs a similar inaccuracy of one year, as it is clear from the many dated coins of this prince, that the 45 days of his rule should be assigned to the year 975, and not to 976,<sup>6</sup> as affirmed by Ferishtah. (See coins No. 140, 141, 142, etc.) This error, in as far as its results might have affected the accessions of the monarchs who follow, will be seen to have been speedily and successfully got rid of by the perpetration of a new error, which curtailed the full extent of the reign of Mahmúd, Sekunder's immediate successor, by the identical overdrawn year.

In addition to the above rectifications of the inaccuracies of Eastern historical authorities, there are errors to be acknowledged as the writer's own, as well as many slight orthographical discrepancies in the Anglicised Oriental names, arising from the occasional correction of the press by other hands during the temporary absences of the author. The latter, where considered of sufficient consequence, will be found duly recorded in the list of errata. The former demand a more explicit notice, and may briefly be enumerated as follows:—

1st. The incorrect assignment of the coin described under No. 58, which is shown, from a more extended examination of the medals of other Indian dynasties, to have belonged to Alá ud din Mohammed Sekunder al Sání, of Khwárizm, who conquered Ghazní in 612 A.H.,<sup>7</sup> and not to Alá ud din Mohammed Sekunder al Sání of Delhí.

<sup>6</sup> The Tubkát Akberi also assigns 976 (19th Rabí al Awal) as the date of the inauguration of Sekunder.

<sup>7</sup> Abúl Faraj, De Guignes, etc.

2nd. The erroneous transcription of the date 702 (page 51), as the epoch of the deposition of the Egyptian khalif, Al Mostakfi Billah. This date was taken from the table at the end of the 2nd volume of "Wilkinson's Modern Egypt," where the accessions, depositions, &c., are somewhat confusedly mixed up. The figures should be 740.<sup>8</sup>

3rd. The omission of an important variety of the binominal coins of Fírúz III., which, had they not escaped notice, should have appeared after coin No. 123. These medals bear the joint names of Fírúz and his son Futteh Khán. They are sufficiently common, and in the obvious variation in the form of the letters of the legends, from those of the metropolitan monies of the father, and the inferiority of their execution as works of art, indicate themselves the produce of a provincial mint.

The following is all that can be satisfactorily deciphered of the inscriptions:—

Silver and copper. 135 grs.

Obv.— \* \* فتحنان فيروز شاه

R.— ضرب في زمن امير المؤمنين ابوالفتح خلعت خلافته.

Others have the name of the khalif عبدالله in the place of ابوالفتح

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Advantage has been taken of the existence of sundry unpublished casts of rare coins, prepared to be used as types by the late James Prinsep, which have lately passed into the possession of the trustees of the British Museum, to add to the numismatic illustrations already afforded by the copper-plate engravings which elucidate the subject-matter of the present notice. Referring to the detailed transcripts of the legends of the several medals em-

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<sup>8</sup> Abúl Faraj (*Pocock*), page 34.



bodied in the preceding pages, it will be sufficient for the explanation of the subjoined impressions, to indicate generally the class to which each specimen belongs, adding merely the date or other variation in which their originals may have differed from the coins described at large in the text.

No. 1. Cast of the original coin described at the foot of p. 105, vol. ix.

2. Ditto ditto of No. 27.

3. A coin of Kaikobád, similar to No. 46.

4. An imperfect specimen of Alá ud din's gold coinage, No. <sup>c</sup>57.

5. Mubarik Sháh, <sup>d</sup>65.

6. Idem, similar to 64, but dated 716 A.H.

7. Behádúr Sháh بهادرشاه السلطان بن سلطان p. 181., vol. ix.

8. Khusrú, similar to No. 74, but the cast of a *different* coin A.H. 720 (\*r.)

9. Tughlak Sháh, similar to 75.

10. Mohammed Tughlak, from a gold coin similar to No. 82.

11. Idem id. id. No. 84.

12. Surfaces of different coins { To the right, the reverse of a coin similar to No. 88.  
To the left, the reverse of a coin similar to No. 96.

13. Shír Sháh, similar to No. 181, with the addition of سلطانہ in the reverse area. A.H. 948.

14. Shír Sháh, similar to No. 179.

15. Islám Sháh, similar to No. 190. Date 960.

16. Islám Sháh, idem. Date 957.

	Gon and Spper.		Gold and Silver.	Billon and Copper.
Mohammed bin Sam.		Shír Shah.		
590	4	946	181 <sup>5</sup>	
id.	3	947	177	
596	3	948	181 <sup>6</sup>	189
id.	4	949	178, 179	
598		950	180 B.M.	185
		951	180 B.M.	184
		952	180	186
Altumsh.		Islám Sháh.		
623	7	952	191	
	6	953	190	
Masáud.	7	954	190	192
641	3	955	190 I.H.	
	6	956	191	
Mahmúd.		957	190 <sup>6</sup>	
654	3	958	190	
657	3	959	190	
658	3	960	190 <sup>6</sup>	
662	3			
Balbán.		Mohammed Adil.		
664	4	961	194	196
665	4	963	195	
669	4			
673	4	Sekunder.		
674	4	962	197	
678	6			
Kaikobád.	6			
	5			
687	4			
688	4			
Fírúz.	65			
691	50			
694	50			
695	50			
Ibrahím.	167 M.			
	167 B.M.			
695	5			
	167 B.M.			
	167 B.M.			
Alá ud din.	167			
699	57			
700	167 B.M.			
702	167 B.M.			
703	57			
704	G. c.			
705	57			
707	171			
710	57			
711	57			
712	57			
713	57			
714	57			
715	57			

- <sup>1</sup> Struck بدار الاسلام  
<sup>2</sup> Fraehn, "Recensio," p. 177.  
<sup>3</sup> Page 67.  
<sup>4</sup> Asiatic Society.  
<sup>5</sup> See also Marsden's plates,  
 Fig. dcc.xxx.  
<sup>6</sup> See Cast Types.





## XIII.

## ON THE IRISH FULL-FACE HALF-PENCE OF JOHN.

## SECOND NOTICE.

Dear Sir,

THE different varieties of the Irish Full-face Halfpence of John have never been, as yet, properly collected together and correctly published: as an attempt and commencement, I send you a very carefully-taken list of the different varieties, moneyers, and legends, etc., thereof, in my own collection, hoping that it may be more fully added to (as I know it can) by other collectors of Irish coins, whose cabinets are capable of shewing many other varieties.

Since the dispersion of the very large hoards of the coins of John, belonging to the late Thomas Walker, Esq., of Ravenswood Park, Yorkshire, which formerly belonged to the late Mr. Petrie of Dublin, and were found in Ireland, many new varieties have been for the first time noticed: about one half of those in my own collection came from these hoards, having been selected, with much care, from a very large number: the other half, and indeed the best preserved, were procured, at various intervals, from different parts of this country, but principally from the county of Limerick.

In type there is very little to be noticed or remarked: in some, however, there is a little pellet or dot in the centre of each annulet, on reverse: also, a similar pellet at each angle of the cross on reverse: others are totally without these varieties, which are the only ones, not hitherto noticed, I have met with.

My list of varieties, etc., is as follows. I have also given a statement of their preservation. Those marked with a star are new varieties never before published.



<i>Obverse.</i>	<i>Reverse.</i>	<i>Condition.</i>
*1 + IOHANNES DOM	+ ADAM ON DW	Fine
2 + ————— —	+ ————— DWE	Very fine
*3 + ————— —	+ ditto but differently formed letters and type	ditto
*4 + ————— DOMI	+ ADAM ON DWD	ditto
*5 + IONANNES (sic) DO	+ DAVI ON DWE	Fine, but [a little clipped]
*6 + IOHANNES DOM	+ NICOLAS: ON DW	Very fine
*7 + ————— —	+ NICOLAS ON DW	Fine, but [slightly clipped]
*8 + ————— —	+ do. but different letters	ditto
9 + ————— —	+ NORMAN ON DW	Very fine
*10 + ————— DOO (sic)	+ NORNAN ON DV	Fine
*11 + ————— DOMI	+ RODBER ON DWE	Very fine
12 + ————— DOM	+ RODBERD —————	ditto
*13 + ————— DOMI	+ ————— —————	ditto
*14 + ————— —	+ ————— ON DW	ditto
*15 + ————— DOMI	+ RODBERN —————	ditto
*16 + ————— DO	+ TOMAS ON DWE	ditto
17 + ————— DOM	+ ————— —————	Rude, and [slightly clipped]
*18 + ————— DOMI	+ ————— ON DW	Fine, but [clipped a little]
*19 + ————— DOMIN	+ ————— DWE	Fine
*20 + ————— DOM	+ TVRGOD —————	Very fine
*21 + ————— —	+ WILLELM ON DV	Fine
*22 + ————— DO	+ GEFREI ON WA	ditto
*23 + ————— —	+ ————— —————	Rude, and [moneyer's name indistinct]
24 + ————— DOMI	+ MARCVS —————	Fine, but [slightly clipped]
*25 + ————— DOM	+ WALTER ON WA	Fine
*26 + ————— .	+ WALTEx ON RE	ditto
*27 + ————— .	+ ————— ON REN	ditto
*28 + Illegible on both obverse and reverse, evidently either a forgery of the day, or the work of an uneducated artist, ignorant of letters. It is in a very fine state of pre- servation.		

The only varieties already published or which otherwise have come under my observation, and not in the foregoing list, are as follows.

## Obverse.

1	+IOHTANNES DOM
2	+_____
3	+_____ DOMIN IBER
4	+_____ DOM
5	+_____
6	+_____ DOMIN
7	+_____ DOM
8	+_____
9	+IOHANNIC _____
10	+IOHANNES _____
11	+_____
12	+_____
13	+_____
14	+_____ DO ON WA
15	+_____ DOMIN
16	+_____.

## Reverse.

+ALEX ON DWE
+NORMAN ON DWE
+_____ DWELI
+NICOL ON DWE
+RODBERD ON WE
+RODBERT ON DW
+TOMAS ON DW
+MARC ON WATER
+MARCUS ON _____
+ALEXAND ON WA
+WHILELMVS ON WA
+_____ DE WATER
+DIIN ON
+ON ANCION
+RODBERD ON DWE
+WALTER ON REN

In a little communication of mine, which appears in the October number of the Numismatic Chronicle, and in which I have attempted to appropriate the coins reading "*Walter*," and "*Waltex on re*," and "*ren*," to the mint of "Reginald's Tower" in the city of Waterford, through some little inadvertence I forgot to remark, that on the obverse, they read simply "*Johannes*," the abbreviation for "*Dominus*" being altogether omitted, and (with the exception of a large pellet) the space, a perfect blank, in which that abbreviation appears on the other full-face half-pence of John. Could it be possible that these coins were struck before the year 1177, when the title of "Lord of Ireland" was conferred by Henry II. on his son John? If so, they are the earliest known coins really struck in Ireland, and for Ireland, by any of the English princes.

Believe me to remain,

Dear Sir,

Very faithfully yours,

EDWARD HOARE.

Cork, October 5th, 1847.

To the Editor of the Numismatic Chronicle.



## MISCELLANEA.

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FARLEY HEATH.—[The nature of the subjects to which the Numismatic Chronicle is devoted, affords few opportunities of varying its pages with poetical effusions. The following stanzas, however, on an Antiquarian subject, by a gentleman well known both as a Poet and an Archæologist, may not be unacceptable to the readers of the Chronicle. It may be added, that the excavations at Farley Heath, to which they refer, were briefly noticed in our last number.]

### FARLEY HEATH.

Many a day have I whiled away  
Upon hopeful Farley-heath,  
In its antique soil digging for spoil  
Of possible treasure beneath ;  
For, Celts, and querns, and funereal urns,  
And rich red Samian ware,  
And sculptured stones, and centurion's bones,  
May all lie buried there!

Content, I ween, and glad have I been  
From morn till eve to stay,  
My Surrey serf turning the turf  
The happy live-long day,  
With eye still bright, and hope yet alight,  
Wistfully watching the mould  
As my spade brings up fragments of things  
Fifteen centuries old !

Pleasant and rare it was to be there  
On a joyous day of June,  
With the circling scene all gay and green,  
Steep'd in the silent noon ;  
When beauty distils from the calm glad hills,—  
From the downs and dimpling vales ;  
And every grove, reeling with love,  
Whispereth tenderest tales.

O then to look back upon Time's old track,  
And dream of the days long past,  
When Rome leant here on his sentinel spear  
And loud was the clarion's blast—  
As wild and shrill from Martyr's Hill  
Echoed the patriot-shout,  
Or rushed pell-mell, with a midnight yell,  
The rude barbarian rout !

Yes; every stone has a tale of its own —  
 A volume of old lore;  
 And this white sand from many a brand  
 Has polish'd gout of gore,  
 When Holmbury-height had its beacon-light,  
 And Cantii held old Leith,  
 And Rome stood then with his iron men  
 On ancient Farley-heath!

Many a group of that exiled troop  
 Have here sung songs of home,  
 Chaunting aloud to a wondering crowd  
 The glories of old Rome;  
 Or, lying at length, have bask'd their strength  
 Amid this heather and gorse,  
 Or down by the well in the larch-grown dell  
 Watered the black war-horse!

Look, look! my day-dream right ready would seem  
 The past with the present to join—  
 For see! I have found, in this rare ground,  
 An eloquent green old coin,  
 With turquoise rust on its Emperor's bust—  
 Some Cæsar, august Lord,  
 And the legend terse, and the classic reverse  
 Victory, valour's reward! —

Victory,—yes! and happiness,  
 Kind comrade, to me and to you,  
 When such rich spoil has crowned our toil  
 And proved the day-dream true;  
 With hearty acclaim how we hail'd by his name  
 The Cæsar of that coin,  
 And told, with a shout, his titles out,  
 And drank his health in wine!

And then how blest the noon-day rest,  
 Reclined on a grassy bank,  
 With hungry cheer and the brave old beer  
 Better than Odin drank;  
 And the secret balm of the spirit at calm,  
 And poetry, hope, and health,—  
 O, have I not found, in that rare ground,  
 A mine of more than wealth!

*Albury, Oct. 9.*

M. F. T.

VOL. X.

C C



## NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS.

*Numismatique des Croisades. Par F. De Sauley. Paris, 4to. 1847.*

WE have again to congratulate the learned world on the appearance of another work from the indefatigable pen of M. de Sauley, an author who has done more than any man living, and we believe we may say with equal truth, than almost any writer of past ages, towards the illustration of obscure parts of numismatic history.

No subject seems to him too abstruse, no path of study too intricate, no characters, whether they be Punic, Celtiberian, or Hieroglyphic, too removed from ordinary observation, for his keen glance to detect, and his ready wit and sound learning to illustrate and explain; an author to whom is justly due, the praise which Johnson gave to Goldsmith, "Nullum quod tetigit non ornavit."

Nor is the portion of history to which he has devoted himself in these pages, less interesting and valuable than those on which he has been engaged in former years. Connected on the West with the remains of Byzantine art, and the young and yet hardly formed monetary systems of France, England and Spain, and circulating in the East with the new, and to Europe almost unknown, money of the Arabian Khalifs, the coins whose history he has developed, throw much light on the dates and history of a period of which we know but little and uncertainly, and afford many valuable and connecting links between the distant regions of the far West, and the wild tribes who had conquered and overrun the now exhausted Roman and Greek Empires of the East.

The study of the Coins of the Crusaders, falls into two great leading divisions:—

*The First*, comprehending those struck in *Asia Minor* from the time of the conquest of *Jerusalem*, A. D. 1099, to the close of the twelfth century, including the coins of the Princes of Antioch and Galilæa, the Counts of Edessa and Tripoli, the Kings of Jerusalem and Cyprus, and the Lords of Marrach and Beiruth.

*The Second*, those struck in European provinces, from the taking of Constantinople by the Latins in A. D. 1204, to the end of the fourteenth century, and including the coins presumed to

have been struck by the Latin Emperors, and the known money of the Princes of Achaia, the Dukes of Athens, the Despots of Romania and Thessalia and the Lords of Cephalonia and Ithaca.

Of a large number of these Princes, M. de Saulcy has been fortunate to discover and to describe, a nearly complete series of coins. We propose enumerating succinctly the results of M. de Saulcy's labours, which will prove more clearly than the most elaborate criticism, of what value to the practical Numismatist, is the volume which he has just put forth.

Of the *Princes of Antioch* (A.D. 1098—1287), he has been successful in discovering the coins of only *three Princes and two Regents*; nor is this to be wondered at, when it is remembered how rude is their execution, that there were seven who bore the same name, Bohemond, between whom it is very difficult to distinguish accurately; and that the two last Princes belong as much to the neighbouring state of Tripoli,

Of the *Counts of Edessa* (A.D. 1098—1144), he has determined by analogy the two first out of four princes who ruled there; which had previously, and it would seem correctly, been described and attributed by *Cousinéry*. The evidence has been well sifted, and will, we believe, be corroborated by future discoveries.

Of the *Counts of Tripoli* (A.D. 1109—1187), he describes the coins of five Princes and one Regent, out of ten rulers; in the earlier specimens depending upon numismatic analogies, in the later, on the more sure testimony of historical documents.

In the number of the *Kings and Titular Kings of Jerusalem*, he has not been so fortunate. Of these there were fourteen, between A.D. 1099—1237, but he has only been able to procure specimens of *two Kings and three titular ones*. We think there can be no doubt that of these his classification is correct.

Of the *Latin Kings and Regents of Cyprus* (A.D. 1192—1489), he describes no less than twelve out of eighteen, divided into the two great classes, of the direct descendants of *Guy de Lusignan* and the branch of the *Lusignans of Antioch*.

Of the *Lords of Beiruth* in the 12th century, only one coin has escaped the ravages of time, that of the celebrated John de Beiruth, in the beginning of the thirteenth century; first made known by Köhne in his "Zeitschrift" for 1846. No. 1.

The *second* portion of M. de Saulcy's work is devoted to the numismatical history of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. No coins have as yet been found of the eight first Emperors between A.D. 1204 and A.D. 1274, and there seems good reason for doubting whether they ever struck any money on their own account. Yet certain anonymous coins there are, of rude and inelegant workmanship, in copper, which are only found in the town of Constantinople, which Cousinéry and Cadavène attribute to these princes;



a judgment in which M. de Saulcy, who had previously described them in his "Essai sur la Classification des Monnaies Byzantines" appears to concur.

The *third* part of his work is occupied with a curious and important branch of the enquiry; viz., the History of the small Dukedoms and Princedoms, etc., which were established during the Latin rule at Constantinople, Achaia, Athens, Campobasso, Corfu, Ithaca and Cephalonia.

Of the *Princes of Achaia* (A.D. 1205—1387), he has published the coins of no less than fourteen; chiefly from the towns of Corinth, Clarentza, and Lepanto; all of considerable interest, whether for their individual scarcity, or the obscurity in which their history is enveloped.

Of the *Dukes of Athens* (A.D. 1205 — 1310), he gives four out of six, struck mainly at Athens and Thebes, and of great variety.

Of the *Counts of Campobasso*, he has but one specimen, and there seems some reason to doubt to whom it should be assigned.

Of the *Lords of Corfu*, two coins only are known; and it is impossible to attribute them with certainty, as their legends are unfortunately very imperfect. There is the same doubt and difficulty about the only coin published of the Lords of Ithaca and Cephalonia, which though giving the name of the place with sufficient distinctness, is wholly undecypherable on its obverse.

Such is a succinct account of M. de Saulcy's new work, which is enriched by nineteen plates, beautifully executed, of the coins whereof it treats. We think we do not say too much, when we assert that it is the most important numismatic work which has appeared for many years.

*Mémoires 'de la Société d'Archæologie et de Numismatique de St. Petersburg, publiées par B. de Köhne. Fasciculus II., avec 4 pl. St. Petersburg. 1847.*

DR. KÖHNE, as some of our readers are aware, has quitted Berlin, and is now located in St. Petersburg, as curator of the Imperial Cabinet of Coins and Medals. He has here manifested the same ardent attachment to numismatic and antiquarian studies as distinguished him in Prussia. The livraison before us contains several papers of interest. 1. Lettre à Monsieur le Prince Théophile Gagarine sur un trouvaile de monnaies Grecques fait en Italie. By the Editor. 2. Monuments inédits de Marcellus, neveu d'Auguste; par le même. 3. Attribution d'une monnaie d'or Byzantine a Michael IV. le Paphlagonien, par M. le Prince Gagarine. 4. Beiträge zur Russischen Münzkunde; par M. de Reichel. 5. Unédrite Deutsche Münzen, aus dem Oranienbaumer Funde;

par M. de Köhne. 6. Münzen der Fürstlichen Abtei Fulda aus dem eilften Jahrhundert; par M. le Dr. Herquet. 7. Die Münzsammlung der Stadt Danzig; par M. Vossberg. 8. Sur l'importance des études d'archæologie et de numismatique orientales pour la Russie; par M. Savélieff, etc. 9. Achik, antiquités de Kertsch; Catacombe de Panticapée; compte-rendu de M. Köhne, etc. etc. These notices cannot fail to find readers among our numismatists; but we may remark, *en passant*, that we have serious doubts as to the correctness of appropriation of the coin or medal presumed of Marcellus. It would be presumptuous to attempt another attribution without actual inspection of this piece, but the learned editor will pardon our referring him to the well-known coin or dedication medal of Antinous, with the legend, OCTIAIOC MAPKEΛΛOC O IEPEYC TOY ANTINOY TOIC AXAIOIC ANΘHKEN. Cf. Eckhel, D. N. V., vol. iv., and Mionnet, Descript. tom. ii. p. 160, nos. 97 & 98. The remains of the legend, as shown in the engraving in the work before us, favour the conjecture that this piece was struck by a priest of the infamous favourite of Hadrian.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

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W. H. S.—1. The Scotch two-penny piece or Bothwell of Charles II. 2. A wide spread penny of Edward I. or II., apparently struck at York. 3. One of the numberless tetradrachms of Alexander the Great. 4. Tetradrachm of Thessalia. The legend is ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟ...ΕΥΚΟΛΟΣ. 5. A denarius of the Gens Plautia. The type is illustrated by Morell and Vaillant, and also by Eckhel, Doct. Num. Vet. vol. v. pp. 276—278.

Q.—Mr. J. R. Smith of 4, Old Compton-street, Soho-square, can obtain you any of the Numismatic books you may require. The Catalogue you mention is a collection of blunders; and the prices are unreasonable in many instances, while many of the books are obsolete, and rather stumbling-blocks than helps to the tyro.

B. S.—Most of the Anglo-Saxon Stycas are extremely common.

I. I. G.—We are not surprised at your intelligence. It is a well-known fact that Antiquarianism is at a lower ebb in Scotland than in any part of Europe. Strange that in a country which has produced so many thinking men, as well as poets from among the humblest of the peasantry, there should be so little desire to illustrate her antiquities.

T. M.—The work so long announced on *The Coins of Ancient Africa* by MM. Falbe and Lindberg has not yet appeared. Judging from the manner in which the specimen sheet has been executed, it may reasonably be expected to be of great value to those who are engaged in the study of those curious and difficult coins.

W. F. F.—Will find a very elaborate list of the weights of well preserved denarii in the first volume of "A Descriptive Catalogue of Rare and Unedited Coins." 2 vols. 8vo. 1834.

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Page 93, line 12, for *سندست* read *سندست*  
 „ 103, coin 14, for “Silver” read “Silver and copper.”  
 „ 109, line 18, for “Balbum” read “Balban.”  
 „ 110, coin <sup>a</sup>, for “Copper” read “Silver.”  
 „ 111, line 20, for “688” read “658.”  
 „ 113, line 7, after “and” insert “one of his commanders.”  
 „ — coin 42, for “Date 678” read “673;” and alter Arabic  
 accordingly.  
 „ 117, note <sup>8</sup>, and vol. x., page 58, line 8, *et seq.*, for “Akhberí”  
 read “Akberí.”

„ 54, coin 94, obverse, add الكريم  
 „ — — reverse, for سنة read سنه  
 „ 62, coin 111, for “ 109,” read “ 110.”  
 „ 129, coin 118, for “ 114” read “ 115.”  
 „ 136, coin 136, for “ 795” read “ 790.”  
 „ 171, line 6, for “ Clumar” read “ Chunar.”  
 Abstract Table of Dates, note<sup>3</sup>, for “ page 67 ” read “ page 130.”





# INDEX

## TO THE NUMISMATIC CHRONICLE.

### VOLUMES ONE TO TEN.

- Abyssinia, unedited coin of a king of, viii. 121
- Aegiale and Epidaurus, on the types of the coins of, by Mr. Birch, v. 193
- Aenianes of Thessaly, coins of the, by Mr. Borrell, ii. 149
- Aeolia, Ionia, etc., notice of coins of, by Mr. Borrell, vii. 45
- Æthelstan, unpublished penny of, 35
- on the pennies of by F. D., v. 127
- Afghanistan, coins of, iv. 122
- Akerman, John Yonge, observations on British Coins, i. 73
- remarks on the coins of Ephesus, under the Romans, iv. 73
- on Mero-vingian and other gold coins found in Hants, v. 171
- on the forgeries of public money, vi. 57
- illustrations of the New Testament, viii. 133; ix. 17
- on London Coffee-house and Tavern Tokens, ix. 49; x. 43
- Alexander of Pheræ, on the coins attributed to, by Mr. Newton, vii. 110
- Alexandrian coins, on the dates upon, by Mr. Sharpe, v. 141
- Alfred, Worcester penny of, vii. 39
- Amyntas, king of Galatia, on some Tetradrachms of, by Mr. Burgon, viii. 69
- Andeda in Pisidia, notice of coins of, by Mr. Borrell, ii. 1
- Angel of Henry VII., with legend of the noble, x. 147
- Apollonia in Pisidia, coins restored to, by Mr. Borrell, ii. 182
- Archers and angels, iv. 183
- Argos in Argolis, on some coins of by Mr. Borrell, vi. 42
- Ariana Antiqua, v. 52
- Artaxerxes I., unique coin of, viii. 119
- Artaxias, notice of a coin of, by Mr. Borrell, ii. 4
- Asia, unedited coins of, by Mr. Birch, ii. 160; iii. 90
- Asia Minor, on some unedited coins of, by Mr. Birch, vii. 5
- Athenian standard, on the adoption of the, by Henry Barth, vii. 156
- Atlas de Géographie Numismatique, par Mionnet, notice of, i. 257
- Attica, coins of, by Mr. Borrell, vi. 128
- Augustus, type of a denarius of, viii. 120
- Austrian Medals, Mr. Bergmann's work on, iv. 184
- Bactrian coins, new types discovered by Lieutenant A. Cunningham, vi. 103
- "Bar," on the African term, by Mr. Dickinson, vii. 94
- Barth, Henry, on the adoption of the Athenian standard, vii. 156
- Base Groats found at Dungarvan, iv. 208
- of Philip and Mary, viii. 170
- Beard Token, account of a, by Mr. W. Hawkins, vii. 153
- Bentham, Mr., sale of the coins and medals of, i. 67
- Bergne, J. B., on an Irish penny of Edward I., v. 120
- further remarks on the pennies of Henry, with long and short cross, by, x. 26
- Birch, Samuel, on some remarkable coins of Caracalla, struck at Pergamus, etc., i. 194
- notice of coins of Larissa, by, i. 222



- Birch, Samuel, account of Greek coins obtained of Count Falbe, ii. 57
- on the coins of Egyptian Nomes, ii. 86
- on a coin of Magnesia, with the head of Cicero, ii. 107
- notice of the coins of the Ænians, by ii. 149
- on some unedited Asiatic Coins, ii. 160; iii. 90
- on certain coins of Galatia, ii. 223
- on a coin of Pergamus, ii. 243
- on a type of Phæstus in Crete, iii. 69
- on an unedited coin of Demetrius II., iv. 11
- on unpublished Greek coins, iv. 127
- on the types of the coins of Aegiale and Epidaurus, v. 193
- on types of Terina, vii. 1
- on some unedited coins of Asia Minor, vii. 5
- on the reading of TASC. on coins of Cunobeline, vii. 78
- on some types of Tarentum, vii. 107
- on Sycee silver, vii. 173
- on unedited coins of Mæsia, Bithynia, Caria, etc., viii. 39
- on types of Caucolia, viii. 163
- Birmingham forgeries of Turkish money, x. 147
- Bithynia, coins of, by Mr. Borrell, vi. 115
- Blondeau, his proposal for reformation of the coinage, i. 165
- B. N. on the medals of the Roettiers, ii. 254
- Bœotia, coins of, by Mr. Borrell, vi. 126
- Borrell, H. P., notice of coins of Andeda, in Pisidia, ii. 1
- on a coin of Artaxias, ii. 4
- on the coins of Ephesus, while called Arsinoe, ii. 171
- Borrell, H. P., on coins of Apollonia in Pisidia, ii. 182
- on certain gold coins supposed of Croesus, ii. 216
- on coins of Histiaotis in Thessaly, ii. 232
- on coins of Pellene in Achaia, ii. 237
- on the coins reading OKOKAIEΩN, iii. 35
- on unedited coins of Thracia, iii. 103
- on unedited coins of Macedonia, iii. 133
- on unedited coins of the Thracian Chersonesus, iv. 1
- on unedited coins of the lower empire, iv. 15
- on Greek coins of Aegialus, Andrus, Delos, etc., v. 173
- on some coins of Argos and Argolis and of Phidon, vi. 42
- on coins of Bithynia, vi. 115
- on coins of Bœotia, vi. 127
- on coins of Mysia, etc., vi. 187
- notice of coins of Aeolia, Ionia, etc., vii. 45
- on unedited coins of Thessalia, Illyria, etc., vii. 115
- on some unedited coins of Lycaonia, Cilicia, Lydia and Phrygia, viii. 2
- on unedited coins of Caria, Calymna Insula, Rhodes Insula, ix. 143
- Boucher de Crevecœur, M., death of, vii. 149
- Boulogne, coins of, by M. Dufaitelle, ii. 192
- British Coins, Mr. Edw. Hawkins on, i. 13
- Mr. Burgon on the classification of, i. 36
- observations on, by J. Y. Akerman, i. 73
- notice of unpublished, by J. Y. Akerman, ii. 71, 191
- No. vi. found at Ashdown Forest, ii. 231
- No. vii. TASCIOR-ICON, etc., iii. 153

- British Coins, legends on, by D. H. Haigh, iv. 27  
 ——— found in Dorsetshire, vi. 200  
 British and Saxon coinage, remarks on the, by C. J. Thomsen, iii. 116  
 Bullion Currency, on, by Mr. Dickinson, vii. 85  
 Bunbury, E. H., on the date of some of the coins of Himera, vii. 179  
 Burgon, Thomas, on the classification of ancient British coins, i. 36  
 ——— on a coin of Cleopatra and Antony, i. 198  
 ——— on coins of Zancle, iii. 40  
 ——— on Tetradrachms of Amyntas, viii. 69  
 Burn, J. H., Memoir on the Roettiers, iii. 158  
 Byzantine coins, unedited, by Mr. Borrell, iv. 15  
 Cabinet de Médailles at Paris, M. Dumersan's account of, i. 206  
 Cæsar's account of British money, v. 157  
 Canterbury, on the coins of the Archbishops of, by L. Y. H., ii. 209  
 Caracalla, Mr. Birch on some remarkable coins of, i. 194  
 Carausius and Allectus, peculiarities in fabric of coins of, i. 127  
 Cardonnell, letter of, iv. 179  
 Caria, Calymna Insula, and Rhodes Insula, unpublished coins of, by Mr. Borrell, ix. 143  
 Cartier, M., his remarks on Merovingian coins in the Revue Numismatique, iii. 62  
 Casts of coins, mode of obtaining, ii. 205  
 Cast dies for medals, mode of making, i. 122  
 Caulonia, notes on types of, by Mr. Birch, viii. 163  
 ——— on the types of the coins of, by Mr. Lloyd, x. 1  
 Celtiberian Alphabet, on the origin of, by M. Lenormant, iii. 1  
 Ceolulf or Ciolfulf, notice of pennies of, by F. D., iv. 23  
 Christmas, Rev. Henry, notices of coins of Volusian, Jovian, and of an archbishop of Cologne, by, viii. 39  
 Christmas, Rev. Henry, notices by, of some unpublished English coins viii. 126  
 Cistophori, on the coins called, by M. Dumersan, ix. 1, 66  
 City of London, notice by the authorities of the, for the preservation of Antiquities, iii. 193  
 Cleopatra and Antony, coin of, with ΘΕΑ ΝΕΑ, noticed by Mr. Burgon, i. 198  
 ——— on the date of her assumption of "Thea Nea," by Rev. J. B. Reade, i. 209  
 Coffee-house and Tradesmen's Tokens, by J. Y. Akerman, ix. 49; x. 63  
 Coining Irons, notice of some ancient, vii. 18  
 Coins in the United Service Institution, i. 261  
 Cologne, collection of Roman coins at, x. 102  
 Concurrent Medal and Jewel currency, by Mr. Dickinson, viii. 207  
 Constantius, coins of, with P. LON. noticed by Mr. Smith, i. 217  
 Coronation Medal of Victoria, notice of, i. 67  
 ——— Medals, Mr. Till's account of, i. 206  
 Cory, J. P., his proposal for the decimal division of money, i. 114  
 Cæsar, an attempt to appropriate certain coins to, by Mr. Borrell, ii. 216  
 Cuerdale — account of coins and treasure found at, by Mr. Edw. Hawkins, v. i  
 ——— find — remarks on the coins inscribed CVNETTI.—SIEFREDVS.—EBRAICE., by D. H. Haigh, v. 105  
 Cuff, J. D. on gold coins found at Southend, i. 30  
 ——— on some gold coins of Edward III. and Richard II., v. 133  
 ——— on some stycas found at York, ix. 121  
 Cufic coins, description of two in the cabinet of Dr. Lee, ii. 69  
 ——— with Runic inscription, vii. 105  
 Cunningham, Lieut. A., on the ancient coinage of Kashmir, vi. 1  
 ——— an attempt to explain the monograms on



- the coins of Ariana and India, by, viii. 175
- Cunobeline, unpublished coin of, ii. 191
- on the reading of TASC etc., on coins of, by Mr. Birch, vii. 78
- C. W. L., remarks on Sceattas, by, i. 66
- Cyprus, "Notice sur quelques médailles grecques des Rois de Chypre, par H. P. Borrell," review of, ii. 51
- D'Abbadie, A. T., on money of Ethiopia, ii. 65
- De Luynes, le Duc, Greek coins of, iii. 62
- De Sauley, notice of his work "Numismatique des Croisades," x. 184
- Decimal division of money, proposal for, by Mr. Cory, i. 114
- Demetrius II., unedited coins of, by Mr. Birch, iv. 11
- D. H. H., on coins of East Anglia, ii. 47
- Dickinson, W. B. on African jewel and ring money, vi. 201
- on tin money of the Burman empire, vii. 33
- on bullion currency, vii. 85
- on the African term "Bar," vii. 94
- on concurrent medal and jewel currency, viii. 207
- Diodotus, gold coin of, ii. 203
- Discoveries of Coins, i. 259; at Strood, ii. 112; near Portland, *ib.*; in Ireland, ii. 256; at Ribchester, iii. 60; at Swansea, *ib.*; at Preston, iii. 62; Pevensey, iii. 65; Charnwood Forest, iii. 67; Farley Heath, iii. 83; Roman in Spain, iii. 126; English at Dungarvon, iii. 194; English and Roman at Holbrook, iv. 63; Roman at Knapwell, iv. 64; English in Norway, iv. 185; English gold at Westminster, v. 133; Roman at Ancaster, v. 157; Roman gold in India, v. 202; English, gold and silver, at Saffron Walden, v. 203; Luxemburg, vi. 55; in Brittany, vi. 110; of Denarii, in India vi. 111; Saxon in Ireland, vi. 112; in southern India, vi. 160; Saxon, at Derrykeerhan, in Ireland, vi. 213; Roman, at Shotover, vii. 43; Gloucestershire, vii. 149; in various parts of England and the Continent, vii. 192; County Down, viii. 49; near Dijon, *ib.*; of William the Conqueror, at York, viii. 123; Pennies at Bermondsey, viii. 170; Saxon, in Gothland, *ib.*; Roman, in Norfolk, x. 102
- Discovery of guineas in Ireland, i. 205
- Dollar of John George of Saxony, legend on a, by Mr. Walter Hawkins, iv. 169
- Domitian, appropriation of a third brass coin to a son of, viii. 121
- unedited coin of, x. 103
- Donop, Baron, his work on ancient coins found in Jersey, noticed, ii. 140
- Dublin College, catalogue of coins preserved in, ii. 255
- Ducs de Lorraine, M. de Sauley's work on the coins of the, noticed, v. 155
- Durrant's coins, sale of, x. 145
- Eagle and thunderbolt, Mr. Sharpe on the, i. 187
- East Anglia, on the coins of, by D. H. H., ii. 47
- remarks on the Numismatic history of, by D. H. Haigh, iv. 34, 195
- Egberht penny, struck at Rochester, iv. 121
- Edelsbacher, the baron, his collection, of coins and medals, iii. 126
- Edred, penny of, struck at Exeter, iv. 184
- Edward the Confessor, Mr. Lindsay's notice of an unpublished half-penny of, and penny of Æthelstan, ii. 35
- the elder, unpublished penny of, iii. 125
- IV. unpublished penny of, vi. 90
- Egyptian Nomes, on the coins of, by Mr. Birch, ii. 86
- Emporium, singular coin of, iii. 62
- English coinage, anecdotes of the with observations, by Mr. J. G. Nichols, ii. 80
- Silver Coins, Mr. Hawkins' work on, announced, iv. 63

- Ephesus, when called Arsinoe, coins of, described by Mr. Borrell, ii. 171  
 ——— remarks on the coins of, under the Romans, by J. Y. Akerman, iv. 73  
 Ethelstan, on the pennies of, by F. D., v. 124  
 ——— unpublished penny of, vii. 38  
 Ethiopia, notice of money of, by M. T. D'Abbadie, ii. 68  
 ——— salt money of, ii. 203  
 Exeter, supposed finding of Greek coins at, i. 72  
 ——— mint, Saxon coins of the v. 51  
 Falbe, Count, notice of unedited Greek coins obtained by the British Museum, of, by Mr. Birch, ii. 57  
 Farley-heath, lines on discoveries at, by Mr. Tupper, x. 182  
 Fitzgerald, J. E., on a coin of Guy de Lusignan, viii. 197  
 Flanders, M. der Duyt's work on the money of the Counts of, noticed v. 156  
 Forged gold coins, by the electrotype process, v. 52  
 Forgeries of Mediæval coins, Mr Pfister on, i. 65  
 ——— of ancient coins, ii. 62, 200, 201, 256; v. 159; vii. 149  
 ——— of coins, v. 202  
 ——— of public money, on the, by J. Y. Akerman, vi. 57  
 ——— of Turkish money at Birmingham, x. 147  
 Fortescue, medal of Sir John, viii. 50  
 Fougères and Conbrouse, their catalogue of the coins of the second race, vi. 110  
 French coinage, work on, by M. de Longpérier, announced, iii. 125  
 Galatia, on certain coins of, by Mr. Birch, ii. 223  
 Gallia Narbonensis, M. de la Saussey's work on the coins of, noticed, v. 155  
 Gaulish coins, M. de la Saussaye's work on, announced, iv. 63  
 German currency, i. 132  
 Gesenius, death of, vi. 56  
 Gold coins found at Southend, Mr. Cuff on, i. 30  
 ——— Triens with DOROVERNIS, ii. 204; on the, by Mr. Haigh, iv. 120  
 Gold coins of Edward III., and Richard II., on some, by Mr James D. Cuff, v. 133  
 Greece, Modern, Mr. Tonna on the coinage of, i. 26  
 Greek coins, unpublished, by Mr. Birch, iv. 127  
 ——— of Aegialus, Andrus, Delos, etc., by Mr. Borrell, v. 173  
 ——— found in England, vii. 146  
 Gresham, Sir Thomas, his plan for the reformation of the coinage, ii. 12  
 Groats of Henry VII. with open crown, on the, by R. S., iv., 170  
 Grotefend, Dr., his letter to Dr. Lee, on ancient coinage, i. 235  
 ——— "what people first stamped money;" by, i. 235  
 ——— on the Kesitah of the Holy Scriptures, ii. 248  
 Gun-money, on the, of James II., iv. 235  
 Guy de Lusignan, on a coin of, by Mr. Fitzgerald, viii. 197  
 Haggard, W. D., on medals of the Pretender, i. 219; ii. 37, 124, 177; iii. 149  
 ——— on the standard of value, ii. 17  
 Haigh, D. H., his proposed interpretation of legends, on British coins, iv. 27  
 ——— on the gold triens with DOROVERNIS, iv. 120  
 ——— remarks on the Numismatic history of East Anglia, iv. 195  
 ——— on the pennies of Henry III. with short cross, iv. 201  
 ——— on the Cuerdale find, v. 105  
 ——— on leaden tokens found at Bury St. Edmund's, vi. 82  
 ——— his work on the Numismatic history of East Anglia, noticed, ix. 45  
 Hamilton, W. R., on Blondeau's proposal for the reformation of the English coinage, i. 165  
 ——— on cast dies for medals, i. 230  
 Harthacnut, penny of, struck at Dover, vii. 202



- Hawkins, Edward, on coins of Northumbria, i. 1
- on a Skeatta and a Styca, attributed to Huth, i. 6
- on British coins, i. 13
- account of Saxon coins discovered near Gravesend, iii. 14
- account of coins and treasure found at Cuerdale, by, v. 1, 53
- Walter, on a dollar of, John George of Saxony, iv. 169
- account of a Russian beard token, vii. 153
- Henry I., on the pennies of, with the short and long cross, by Major Moore, x. 21
- by J. B. Bergne, x. 26
- II., account of a discovery of pennies of, in Bedfordshire, by J. W. B., ii. 54
- II. and III., pennies of, found in Norway, iv. 185
- III., remarks on the pennies of, with short cross, by Mr. Haigh, iv. 201
- IV., penny of, struck at Durham, viii. 125
- VIII., unpublished penny of, vi. 90
- Heptarchy, remarks on Mr. Lindsay's work on the coinage of the, vi. 93
- Heriberht, supposed penny of, by Mr. Kenyon, vi. 163
- Himera, on the date of some of the coins of, by Mr. Bunbury, vii. 179
- Histiæotis in Thessaly, on certain coins of, by Mr. Borrell, ii. 232
- Hoare, Edward, on some ring money found in Ireland, vii. 1
- on unpublished half-pence of John, x. 104, 179
- Hoffman, Mr. letter from, viii. 50
- Holroyd, Mr., on the Iron money of Kordofan, i. 210
- Huth, Mr. Hawkins on supposed coins of, i. 5
- Mr. Lindsay on supposed styca of, i. 141
- Impressions from coins, Mr. Rolfe's mode of taking, ii. 143
- India, Roman coins found in, vi. 160
- Irish coins, work on by Mr. Lindsay announced; i. 207; reviewed, ii. 139
- Irish coins of Edward IV., on the, by Dr. Smith, from the transactions of the R. I. Academy, iv. 41
- on the, by R. S., iv. 205
- penny of Edward I., by J. B. Bergne, v. 120
- Iron Money of Kordofan, i. 210
- Jersey, description of coins found in, by the Baron Donop, ii. 140
- Jewel or Ring money of Africa, on the, by Mr. W. B. Dickinson, vi. 201
- John, on the types of the Irish coins of, by L. Y. H., ii. 187
- unpublished half-pence of, with full face, by Mr. Hoare, x. 104, 179
- Juba the Second, on a coin of, by Rev. E. G. Walford, vi. 183
- Juncheit, Mr. Pfister on the word, i. 63
- J. W. B. on Signor Pistrucci's invention, i. 53
- on Gresham's plan for the reformation of the coinage, temp. Eliz. ii. 12
- notice of coins of Henry II. discovered in Bedfordshire, ii. 54
- Kashmir, on the ancient coinage of, by Lieut. Cunningham, vi. 1
- Kenyon, Mr., on a supposed penny of Heriberht, vi. 163
- Kesitah, on the, of the Holy Scriptures, by Dr. Grotefend, ii. 248
- Köhne, Dr., his Journal of Heraldry and Numismatics, iv. 125
- Kordofan, on the iron money of, by Mr. Holroyd, i. 210
- Landau, siege-money of, by B. N., vii. 25
- Larissa, Mr. Birch's notice of coins, of, i. 222
- Leaden medal of Theodora, by Sig. Carrara, iv. 183
- Tokens found at Bury St. Edmund's, on some, by Mr. Haigh, vi. 82
- found in London, viii. 116
- Lebadia and Zacynthus, coins of, i. 248
- Lelewel, M., announcement of his

- work, "Etudes Numismatiques," iii. 61
- Lenormant, M., on the Celtiberian alphabet, iii. 1
- LON, on coins of Maximianus, vii. 201
- Longpérier, Adrien de, notice of a coin of Titiopolis by, i. 213
- notice of a remarkable gold coin of Offa, by, iv. 232
- on the Cuerdale find, v. 177
- on the Mancus, v. 122
- Light Gold, return of, x. 101
- Lindsay, John, on the Stycas of Huth, i. 141
- notice of an unpublished penny of Æthelstan, and half-penny of Edward the Confessor, ii. 35
- on the appropriation of certain coins to Northumbria and East Anglia, ii. 132
- notice of his work on the coins of Ireland, ii. 138
- on certain Stycas, vi. 38
- his work on Scotch coins, noticed, viii. 171
- Llhwyd, Edward, postscript of a letter of, v. 51
- Lloyd, W. W., on types of the coins of Caulonia, x. 1
- on coins of Selinus, x. 108
- Lycaonia, Cilicia, Lydia and Phrygia, unedited coins of, by Mr. Borrell, viii. 2
- Lydia, Pamphylia, etc., unedited coins of, by Mr. Borrell, x. 80
- L. Y. H., on pennies of Regnald, ii. 7
- Macedonia, unedited coins of, by Mr. Borrell, iii. 133
- Magnesia, coin of, with the head of Cicero, by Mr. Birch, ii. 107
- Mancus, on the, by M. de Longpérier, v. 122
- Maurice, on a jewelled coin, of, by Mr. Stevenson, ix. 131
- Medals, French, notice of a catalogue, of, i. 134
- of the Pretender, by Mr. Haggard, i. 219; ii. 37, 124, 177; iii. 149; unpublished, ix. 44
- Medals of Queen Victoria, by Stothard, iii. 62
- of Mehemet Ali, iv. 65, 244; v. 147
- of the king of Oude, v. 129
- and cameos collected in Persia, by Mr. Robertson, v. 202
- of the Saxe-Coburg family, vi. 169
- Merovingian and other gold coins found in Hampshire, vi. 171
- coins found at Canterbury, by Mr. Smith, vii. 187
- Mexican dollars, forgery of, at Sheffield, iv. 175
- Millingen, Mr., obtains the Numismatic prize of the Academy of Inscriptions, i. 134
- *Considérations sur la Numismatique, de l'Ancienne Italie*, announced, v. 156
- Mint royal, affairs of, discussed in Parliament, i. 132
- charges, temp James I., iv. 181
- in the tower, notices of the, iv. 237
- Mionnet, his *Atlas de Géographie Numismatique* i. 257
- death of, v. 158
- Moesia, Bithynia, Caria, etc., unedited coins of, by Mr. Birch, viii. 39
- Monnaies Royales de France, par Conbreuse, notice of, i. 135
- "Monnaies inconnues des Evêques des Innocens des Fous," etc., notice of, i. 252
- Monograms on coins of Ariana and India, an attempt to explain some of the, by Lieut. Cunningham, viii. 175
- Moore, W. Y., on the pennies of Henry with the short and long cross, x. 21
- Munich sale of coins, at i. 206
- Mysia, etc., coins of, by Mr. Borrell, vi. 187
- Nero, coin of, with wreath, vii. 172
- his third brass coin of, with DECVR, viii. 120
- Newton, Charles, on a coin attributed to Alexander of Phœæ, vii. 110
- New Testament, illustrations of the, by J. Y. Akerman, viii. 133
- Nichols, J. G., anecdotes of the English coinage, ii. 80
- Nightingale, Benjamin, on the Roettiers, iii. 56



- Nightingale, Benjamin, notice of Thomas Simon by, iv. 211  
 ————on tin money of the Burman empire, vii. 27  
 North America, currency of, noticed by Mr. Stearns, iii. 123  
 Northumbria, Mr. Hawkins on coins of, i. 1  
 ————and East Anglia, on the appropriation of certain coins to, by Mr. Lindsay, ii. 132  
 Numismatic knowledge in England, state of, i. 133  
 ————books, sale of Mr. Young's i. 205  
 ————Prize Essay, vi. 56  
 ————publications, list of recent, vii. 202; viii. 51, 128, 172  
 "Numismatique des Croisades," par F. de Saulcy, notice of x. 184  
 Numismatische Zeitung, i. 206
- Offa, remarkable gold coin of, by M. de Longpérier, iv. 232  
 ————on a gold coin of, by M. de Longpérier, v. 122  
 OKOKAIEΩN, on the coins reading, by Mr. Borrell, iii. 35  
 "Olla Podrida, An," by R. Sainthill, notice of, vii. 37  
 Oriental Coins, the, of Dr. Sprewitz, i. 202  
 ————sold by the academy of Sciences of St. Petersburg, iii. 193  
 Otho, supposed, in large brass, iv. 239; v. 49
- Paduan coin forgers, the, vi. 53  
 Patan, Afghan, or Ghori Sultans of Hindustan, on the coins of the, by Mr. Thomas, ix. 79; x. 43, 127, 151  
 Pavia, Cav. Quintino's notice of the money of, vii. 40  
 Pellene in Achaia, on coins of, by Mr. Borrell, ii. 237  
 Pennies of Henry with short and long cross, further remarks on, by Mr. Bergne, x. 26  
 Penny pieces of Queen Victoria, iv. 62  
 Pergamus, Mr. Birch on a coin of, ii. 243
- Pewter farthings, temp. Cromwell, vi. 217  
 Pfister, J. G., on the word "Juncheit," i. 63  
 ————on forgeries of Mediæval coins, i. 65  
 Phæstus, in Crete, note on a type of, by Mr. Birch, iii. 69  
 Pinkerton, letter of, iv. 180  
 Pistrucci, Signor, his invention, i. 53  
 Pretender, notices of medals of the, by Mr. Haggard, i. 219; ii. 17, 37, 177; iii. 149; iv. 27, 201  
 Proclamations relating to the English coinage, v. 196
- Rawlings, letter of, to Evelyn, iv. 123  
 Reade, Rev. J. B., on coins of Cleopatras, with ΘΕΑ ΝΕΑ, i. 209  
 Regnald, on the pennies of, by L. Y. H., ii. 7  
 ————notice of a penny of, i. 119  
 Representations of coins, method of obtaining, iii. 190  
 Revue Numismatique, i. 206; iv. 63; v. 151  
 Ring money found in Ireland, on some, by Mr. Hoare, vii. 1  
 Rochester, unique penny of Eggerht, struck at, iv. 121  
 Roettiers, their petition to Charles II., ii. 198  
 ————on medals of the, by B. N., ii. 254  
 ————Memoir on the, by Mr. Burn, iii. 158  
 ————remarks on a memoir on the, by B. N., iv. 56  
 Roman coin moulds, account of, by M. P. D'Avant, with observations by J. Y. Akerman, and Rev. J. B. Reade, i. 147  
 ————third brass coins found at Deal, i. 259  
 ————coins discovered in the Thames, account of, by Mr. C. R. Smith, iv. 147  
 ————remains on Farley Heath, x. 143  
 R. S. on coins of William the Conqueror, ii. 42  
 Rude coins discovered in England, remarks on, iv. 30  
 Ruding's annals of the coinage, new edition of, i. 205; iii. 125

Sale of ancient coins at Vienna, vii. 150  
 Salt Money of Ethiopia, ii. 203  
 Sappho, on the honour rendered to, (correspondence), vii. 106  
 Sassanian coins, notice of M. de Longpérier's work on, iii. 48  
 Savoy, work on the coins of, by Signor Promis, noticed, v. 156  
 Saxon coins discovered near Gravesend, account of, by Mr. Hawkins, iii. 14  
 ——— list of, found at Derry-keerhan, by M. Carruthers, vi. 213  
 ——— and English unedited coins, by Rev. H. Christmas, vii. 135  
 Sceatta of Northumbria, iii. 154; of Archbishop Theodore, v. 158  
 Sceattas, remarks on, by C. W. L., i. 66; by L. Y. H., ii. 152  
 Schröder, L., his work on Swedish coins, vii. 201  
 Scotch coins, notice of Mr. Lindsay's work on, viii. 171  
 Scottish coins, early, noticed by D. H. H. iv. 67  
 Selinus, on the coins of, by Mr. Lloyd, x. 108  
 Sharp, Samuel, on the Eagle and Thunderbolt on coins, i. 187  
 ——— on the dates of Alexandrian coins, v. 141  
 Side, weights of coins of, viii. 91  
 Siege money of Landau, by B. N. vii. 25  
 Simon, Thomas, notice of, by Mr. Nightingale, iv. 211  
 ——— the will of, with remarks by Mr. Clement Taylor, Smythe, v. 161  
 ——— and the Roettiers, annuities granted to, vii. 22  
 ——— notice of a grant of money to, vii. 43  
 ——— contemporary notice of, vii. 146  
 Sketches of Northumbria, by F. D. and E. H., iii. 154  
 Smith, Charles Roach, notice of two coins of Constantinus II., with P. LON, i. 217  
 ——— on coins found at Strood, ii. 112  
 ——— account of Roman coins discovered in the Thames, iv. 147, 187  
 ——— on Stycas found at York, vii. 99

Smith, Charles Roach, on Mero-vingian coins found at Canterbury, vii. 187  
 ——— testimonial to, vii. 201  
 Smythe, Clement Taylor, his remarks on the will of Simon, with extracts, v. 161  
 Society d'Archæologie et de Numismatique de St. Petersburg, notice of their proceedings, x. 186  
 Spain, work on the autonomous coins of, by M. de Sauley, announced, iv. 63  
 Standard of Value, on the, by Mr. Haggard, ii. 17  
 Stephen, supposed penny of, iv. 146  
 Sterling, notice of a curious Foreign, by Mr. Hoare, viii. 1  
 Stevenson, S. W., on a jewelled coin of Maurice, ix. 131  
 Strood, Roman coins found at, account of, by Mr. C. R. Smith, ii. 112  
 Stukeley, Dr., letter of, iv. 238  
 Stycas, on certain examples of, by Mr. Lindsay, vi. 38  
 ——— found at York, vii. 34  
 ——— on, by Mr. Smith, vii. 99  
 ——— account of, by Mr. Cuff, ix. 121  
 Sycee silver, by Mr. Birch, vii. 173  
 Tabà in Caria, on some unpublished coins of, by Mr. Whittall, iii. 99  
 Tarentum, notes on some types of, by Mr. Birch, vii. 107  
 Tavoy, tin coins of, vi. 91  
 Terina, on the types of, by Mr. Birch, vii. 142  
 Thessalia, Illyria, etc., unedited coins of, by Mr. Borrell, vii. 115  
 Thomas, Edward, on the coins of the Patan, Afghan, or Ghori sultans of Hindustan, ix. 79; x. 43, 127, 151  
 Thomsen, Christian, J., his remarks on British and Saxon coinage, iii. 116  
 Thracia, unedited coins of, by Mr. Borrell, iii. 103  
 Thracian Chersonesus, unpublished coins of the, by Mr. Borrell, iv. 1  
 Tin coins of Tavoy, vi. 91  
 Tin money of the Burman Empire, by Mr. Nightingale, vii. 27; by Mr. Dickinson, vii. 33



- Titiopolis, notice of an unique coin of, by M. de Longpérier, i. 213  
 Tokens issued by Wiltshire tradesmen, viii. 97  
 ——— examples of, issued by London Coffee-house and Tavern keepers, by J.Y. Akerman, ix. 49; x. 43  
 Tonna, L. H. J., on coinage of Modern Greece, i. 26  
 Torino, catalogue of the coins of Cav<sup>o</sup>. Lavey presented to the Academy of, vi. 110  
 Trésor de Numismatique et de Glyptique, notice of the, i. 91  
 Tupper, Martin Farquhar, on coins found at Aldbury, iii. 83  
 ——— lines by, on discoveries at Farley Heath, x. 182  
 Tyra, unedited coin of, viii. 118  
 Vabalathus, account of an inscription illustrating the coins of, by Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, ix. 128  
 Valeria, coins of the family, dissertation on, by M. Lenormant, iii. 125  
 Victoria, proclamation for coinage of, i. 129  
 ——— "City medal" of Queen, i. 192  
 "What people first stamped money?" by Dr. Grotefend, i. 235  
 Whittall, James, on some unedited coins of Taba, iii. 99  
 Wilkinson, Sir Gardiner, on an inscription illustrating the legends on the coins of Vaballathus, ix. 128  
 William the Conqueror, on the pennies of, with PAXS, i. 119  
 ——— on the coins of, by R. S., ii. 47  
 ——— unpublished penny of, v. 159  
 Wood, Thomas, letter of, to Hans Sloane, vii. 105  
 Zancle, Mr. Burgon on the coins of, iii. 40  
 "Zeitschrift für Münzkunde," etc., contents of, vii. 147

## LIST OF PLATES.

### VOLUME I.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Subordinate Symbols on Gaulish and British coins.</li> <li>2. Ancient British Coins.</li> <li>3. City medal of Queen Victoria.</li> <li>4. Remains of utensils, etc., for casting Roman coins.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Map of the part of the West Riding of Yorkshire, illustrating the papers on cast Roman coins.</li> <li>6. Coins of Larissa in Thessalia.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

### VOLUME II.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. Unpublished Greek coins (Andeda).</li> <li>8. Ancient British coins.</li> <li>9. Coins of Egyptian Nomes.</li> <li>10. Ancient British coins.</li> <li>11. Coins of Arsinoe and Ephesus.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Unedited Asiatic coins.</li> <li>13. Pennies of the Archbishops of Canterbury.</li> <li>14. Ancient British coins found in Sussex.</li> </ol> |
|---|--|

### VOLUME III.

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>15. Coins of Zancle.</li> <li>16. Coins of Ænus, Dicea, and Taba in Caria.</li> <li>17. Celtiberian characters with their supposed equivalents.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>18. Ancient British coins.</li> <li>19. Coins of Amphipolis, Archelaus, Amyntas, and Alexander.</li> </ol> |
|---|---|

### VOLUME IV.

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>20. Rude coins discovered in England.</li> <li>21. Coins of Ephesus.</li> <li>22. Coins of Selybria and Lemnos Insula.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>23. Coins of Henry VII. with the open crown.</li> </ol> |
|--|--|

### VOLUME V.

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| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>24. Examples of the Cuerdale Find.</li> <li>25. Idem.</li> <li>26. Idem.</li> <li>27. Idem.</li> <li>28. Idem.</li> <li>29. Idem.</li> <li>30. Idem.</li> </ol> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>31. Examples of the Cuerdale Find.</li> <li>32. Idem.</li> <li>33. Idem.</li> <li>34. Medal of the King of Oude.</li> <li>35. Medals of Thomas and Abraham Simon.</li> </ol> |
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## VOLUME VI. 24 25 26 27

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| 36. Coins of Kashmir.<br>37. Idem.<br>38. Idem.<br>39. Sceatta of Archbishop Theodore,<br>and Stycas.<br>40. Leaden tokens found at Bury<br>St. Edmund's. | 41. Gold coins found on Bagshot<br>Heath.<br>42. Gold coins and jewelled clasp,<br>found on Bagshot Heath.<br>43. Coins of Cebrenia, in Troas. |
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## VOLUME VII. 28 29 30 31

- |   |   |
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| 44. Unedited Greek coins.<br>45. Ancient coining irons.<br>46. Obsidional money of Landau.<br>47. Coins of Cunobeline.<br>48. Stycas found at York. | 49. Coins of Alexander of Phœæ.<br>50. Merovingian coins, etc., dis-<br>covered near Canterbury.<br>51. British coins, and coin of<br>Antoninus with BRITANNIA. |
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## VOLUME VIII.

- |  |   |
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| 52. Leaden tokens.<br>53. Tokens issued by Wiltshire<br>tradesmen.<br>54. Coins of Vespasian and of Titus. | 55. Coins of Princes of the Crusades.<br>56. Folding plate of Monograms<br>on Bactrian coins. |
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## VOLUME IX. 32 33 34 35

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 57. Cistophori, with their Symbols<br>and Monograms.<br>58. London Coffee-house and<br>Tavern tokens.<br>59. Idem.<br>60. Idem.<br>61. Coins of the Patan Sultans of<br>Hindustan. | 62. Coins of the Patan Sultans of<br>Hindustan.<br>63. Idem.<br>64. Idem.<br>65. Stycas found at York.<br>66. Jewelled coin of the emperor<br>Mauricius. |
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## VOLUME X. 36 37 38 39

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 67. English, Scotch and Irish<br>pennies and half-pennies.<br>68. Coins of Messenia, Selinus, and<br>Caulonia.<br>69. Coins of Selinus. | 70. London Coffee-house and<br>Tavern Tokens (2nd series).<br>71. Coins of the Patan Sultans of<br>Hindustan.<br>72 and 73. Idem. |
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